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THE FIGURATIVE CASTLE

A STUDY IN THE MEDIÆVAL ALLEGORY OF THE EDIFICE WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS WRITINGS

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ROBERTA D. CORNELIUS

BRYN MAWR
PENNSYLVANIA
1930

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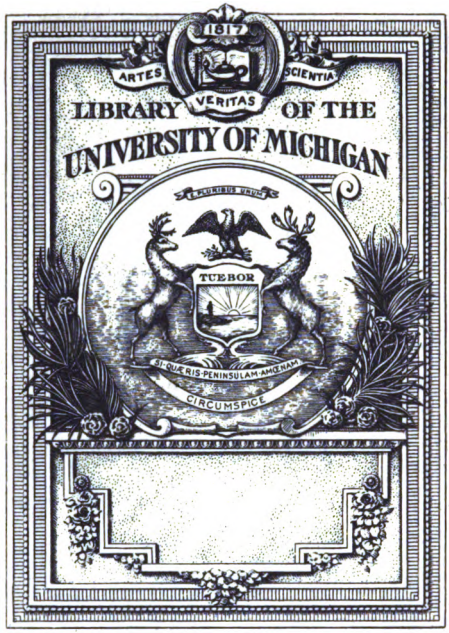

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PREFACE

THE mediæval allegory of the edifice offers a vast field for study. In selecting the figurative castle as the particular edifice to be examined, I have greatly limited the field, but I cannot claim to have treated fully even that extensive division of the subject. The secular examples of the type I have had to leave out of consideration save where they are in some way connected with the religious.

I have brought together what seem to me the more important uses of the figurative castle both as a detail in the religious allegory of the Middle Ages and as the prime concept of such allegory. In the course of the discussion I hope I have offered particulars shedding light upon the interrelation of different allegorical motifs and emphasizing the connection between allegory and life. The classified selective list of Latin allegories of the edifice, appearing as the third section of the bibliography, I trust may prove of value to future students of the subject.

During my researches for this study, I have had invaluable aid from many quarters, for all of which I am profoundly grateful. My chief indebtedness, however, is to Professor Carleton Brown, to the President and Faculty of Bryn Mawr College, and to the authorities and staff of the Columbia University Library.

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INTRODUCTION

THE ALLEGORICAL EDIFICE

IT HAS long been recognized that although allegory flowered in the Middle Ages, its roots struck so deep into the past that they have never been completely uncovered. Certainly as far back as the time of Theagenes of Rhegium[1] the allegorical method was employed in Greek literature. Xenophon, Plato, and, later, Plutarch made use of it. The allegory of the edifice was not unknown to classical literature. The gods have their dwelling places, usually suited to the nature of the residing deity; and abstractions like those of a later period are found living in characteristic abodes.[2] Ovid's House of Fame has so often been discussed that it hardly need be considered here. Perhaps of more interest for this study are the camp of Cupid,[3] mentioned in the *Amores,* I, ix; and the abode of Envy described in the *Metamorphoses* II, 760 ff.:

> protinus Invidiae nigro squalentia tabo
> tecta petit: domus est imis in vallibus huius
> abdita, sole carens, non ulli pervia vento,
> tristis et ignavi plenissima frigoris et quae
> igne vacet semper, caligine semper abundet.[4]

It is not merely as the residence of a god or of an abstraction, however, that the figurative building is to be found in classical literature. Plato used it in the *Timaeus* (69 C–72 B) with reference to the human body. Longinus so much admired the method employed

[1] See E. K. Rand's *The Founders of the Middle Ages,* Harvard University press, 1928, p. 85. For a survey of Greek allegorical interpretation, and for some valuable references on the subject, see Anne Bates Hersman's University of Chicago Dissertation (1905): *Studies in Greek Allegorical Interpretation.* On Theagenes of Rhegium (sixth century B.C.) as the earliest Homeric allegorist, see p. 10.

[2] For an excellent discussion of the classical sources of the Palace of Love, see W. A. Neilson's *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love,* Harvard *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature,* VI, especially pp. 11 ff. All of Chapter II is of much interest: "The Beginnings of Modern Allegory."

[3] Mentioned by K. Raab: *Ueber vier allegorische Motive in der lateinischen und deutschen Litteratur des Mittelalters, Jahresbericht des Landes-Obergymnasiums zu Leoben,* 1885.

[4] In the Loeb Classical Library edition, F. J. Miller translates *tecta* cave, but I do not see the necessity for this translation. The following *domus* would not suggest it.

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in the use of this allegory that he commented upon it in his *Essay on the Sublime*[5] and summarized it in detail. His comment should perhaps be quoted: "Moreover in the treatment of a commonplace and in descriptions there is nothing so expressive as a sustained series of metaphors. It is thus that in Xenophon the anatomy of the human tabernacle is magnificently depicted, and still more divinely in Plato."

Philo Judaeus, the erudite Alexandrian who was at once an Hellenist and an Hebraist, made much use of allegorical edifices. In one instance it is amusing to find allegory itself figuring as the builder: "Let these things be laid down first by way of foundation; and on this foundation let us raise up the rest of the building, following the rules of that wise architect, allegory."[6] In the treatise "Of Cain and his Birth" the soul is represented as the house of God: "If therefore we call this invisible soul the terrestrial habitation of the invisible God, we shall be speaking justly and according to reason; but that the house may be firm and beautiful, let a good disposition and knowledge be laid as its foundations, and on these foundations let the virtues be built up in union with good actions, and let the ornaments of the front be the due comprehension of the encyclical branches of elementary instruction."[7]

For the religious literature of the Middle Ages the most important sources of the figurative edifice are to be found in the Bible. The various Scriptural edifices were interpreted at one time or another by the allegorical method. The first of these that comes to mind was itself figurative at the outset: the House of Wisdom.[8] The first verse of the ninth chapter of Proverbs, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars" embodies a conception that has never lost its hold upon the human mind. It was used throughout the Middle Ages, and it occurs in the last of Robert Bridges' poems.[9]

[5] In the Loeb Classical Library edition of Aristotle's *Poetics*, 1927, pp. 213-215. The translation, upon which I am obliged to depend, is by W. Hamilton Fyfe. References are here given to the pertinent passages in Xenophon and Plato. The *Timaeus* passage has been mentioned elsewhere as well. The passage from Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (I, iv, 5) can hardly be called allegorical.

[6] *"On Dreams being sent from God,"* C. D. Yonge's translation in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library edition of the *Works of Philo*, Vol. II, p. 346.

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 200.

[8] See K. Raab: *op. cit.*

[9] *The Testament of Beauty*, Book I, l. 616.

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Honorius of Autun, in his *Speculum Ecclesiae,* gives an interesting interpretation of the House of Wisdom: Wisdom is Christ who has built his house, that is, the Church, of selected living stones. The house has seven columns because seven books of the sacred scriptures sustain the doctrine of the Church. These columns have been put in place by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. The first column is the Book of John erected by the Spirit of Wisdom; the second, the Psalter, placed by the Spirit of the Intellect (*spiritus intellectus*); the third, Proverbs, set up by the Spirit of Counsel (*spiritus consilii*); the fourth, Ecclesiastes, given its place by the Spirit of Fortitude; the fifth, the Canticles, fixed by the Spirit of Knowledge; the sixth, the Book of Wisdom, established by the Spirit of Piety; the seventh, the Book of Ecclesiasticus, brought to the building by the Spirit of the Fear of the Lord. These columns, furthermore, have been adorned by the work of such noble painters as Gregory and Augustine.[10]

Noah's ark was a fruitful source of allegory. It was often a symbol of the Virgin, and it was sometimes turned to an allegory of the human body. Saint Ambrose makes elaborate use of it in the latter way in a treatise called *Liber de Noë et arca.*[11] The Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant are used again and again. An interesting interpretation of the Tabernacle and all its parts is to be found in the *Historia scholastica* of Petrus Comestor.[12] The inner meaning of Solomon's temple is frequently expounded in much detail. In *De claustro animae,* Book III, the temple itself, the artificers, the workmen, the burden-bearers, the overseers of the work, the place in which the temple is to be founded, the way in which the light falls upon the temple, the windows, the walls, the ceilings, the ornamentation, the pavement, the outer court, the inner court, the "mare fusili" of the temple, the ten sides of the temple, the brazen altar, the golden altar and table and the candlesticks—all are given an allegorical explanation.[13]

It is not an exaggeration, I am sure, to say that every edifice of any importance mentioned in the Bible was at some time interpreted

[10] **P.L.,* CLXXII, 1101-1102.

[11] *P.L.,* XIV, 379 ff. Compare also Hugo of Saint Victor's *De arca Noë morali* and *De arca Noë mystica, P.L.,* CLXXVI, 618-702.

[12] *P.L.,* CXCVIII, 1179.

[13] *P.L.,* CLXXVI, 1113-1130.

* Throughout this study *P.L.* means *Patrologia Latina,* edited by J. P. Migne.

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allegorically. Furthermore, Scriptural passages not naming specific buildings often gave rise to figurative edifices. The conception of "living stones" was a favorite one, as was the thought that Christians constitute the temple of God. In both conceptions we may recognize suggestions from more than one Biblical passage.[14] It was probably from the second chapter of Ephesians, verses 19-22, that the elaborate allegory appearing in *The Pastor of Hermas* was derived. In that enigmatic work of the first or the second century,[15] the building of the Church and the stones to be used therein are twice the subject of allegorical treatment: in Vision III, and again with greater amplification in Similitude IX.

The venerable Bede brings together two Scriptural sources in his book on the Temple of Solomon: "Dicit autem Apostolus de nobis: *Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis* (*II Cor. vi*). Si ergo ille templum Dei per assumptam humanitatem factus est, et nos templum Dei per inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in nobis efficimur, constat utique quia figuram omnium nostrum et ipsius, Domini videlicet et membrorum ejus quae nos sumus, templum illud materiale tenuit. *Sed ipsius, tamquam lapidis angularis singulariter electi, et pretiosi, in fundamento fundati, nostri autem tanquam lapidum vivorum, superaedificatorum super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, hoc est super ipsum Dominum (Ephes. II).*"[16]

Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* is developed from I Corinthians, III, 17: "Templum Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos." A rubric heading one of the manuscripts of the piece announces the subject as: "De templo materiali et spirituali." According to a Middle English rhyming piece which Professor Carleton Brown has found to be derived from Grosseteste's tract, a priest should have two temples: the bodily temple in which to receive God's manhood, and the "ghostly" temple in which to receive his godhead. The interpretation of the first is worked out in precepts for the personal life of the Christian priest; the second is represented rather as the temple of doctrine and of faith. In the first, emphasis is placed upon

[14] I Cor. III, 16 and 17; VI, 19; II Cor. VI, 16; Ephesians II, 20-22.

[15] In J. R. Harmer's introduction to the *Shepherd of Hermas* as edited and translated in Bishop Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1891) pp. 293-294, three theories of date and authorship are given. I believe, however, the work is usually considered as belonging to the second century.

[16] *De templo Salomonis, P.L.*, XCI, 738.

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physical detail; in both, the parts of the building and the building materials are of importance.[17]

From one source or another, rather detailed allegories of building sometimes developed. In these allegories, builders and building materials are often of as much interest as the edifice itself. Such is the case in *The Pastor of Hermas,* to which reference has already been made. In the third vision, "the Lady", acting as expositor, shows Hermas a great tower being builded upon the waters. Hermas describes what he sees: "Now the tower was being builded four-square by the six young men that came with her. And countless other men were bringing stones, some from the deep, and others from the land, and were handing them to the six young men. And they took them and builded. The stones that were dragged from the deep they placed in every case, just as they were, into the building, for they had been shaped, and they fitted in their joining with the other stones; and they adhered so closely one with another that their joining could not possibly be detected and the building of the tower appeared as if it were built of one stone. But of the other stones which were brought from the dry land, some they threw away and some they put into the building; and others they broke in pieces and threw to a distance from the tower. Now many other stones were lying around the tower, and they did not use them for the building; for some of them were mildewed, and others had cracks in them, and others were too short, and others were white and round and did not fit into the building. And I saw other stones thrown to a great distance from the tower, and coming to the way, and yet not staying in the way, but rolling to where there was no way; and others falling into the fire and burning there; and others falling near the waters, and yet not able to roll into the water, although they desired to roll and come to the water."[18]

The tower, as the Lady, who is really the Church, explains to the inquiring Hermas, is herself, the Church, being builded upon the waters because by water one comes to salvation. The tower was founded by the word of the Almighty, and is made strong by the

[17] See the description of the *Templum Domini* in the *Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Ryland's Library,* Vol. I, MS 153. The English poem is in B.M. Add. MS 32578, and is listed in Professor Brown's *Register,* II, 605.

[18] Edition cited, pp. 411-412.

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invisible power of the Master. The six young men are the holy angels of God, who were first created, and by whose hands the building of the tower must be accomplished. Those bringing stones are also angels but inferior to the first six. The stones that are squared and white and that fit immediately together are apostles and bishops and deacons who have walked in holiness. The stones being dragged from the deep are they who suffered for their faith. .... All the other stones are likewise interpreted. The white round stones, for instance, are "they that have faith but have also riches of this world. When tribulation cometh, they deny their Lord by reason of their riches and their business affairs." When their wealth shall have been cut away, they will be useful to God. "For just as the round stone, unless it be cut away, and lose some portion of itself, cannot become square, so also they that are rich in this world, unless their riches be cut away cannot become useful to the Lord."[19]

In the *De claustro animae,* likewise, occurs a passage of interest for its interpretation of builders and building materials:

Sunt et alii qui onera portant, quia alios sustentant. Portat enim humilitas ligna, patientia lapides, stabilitas sabulum seu arenas, mansuetudo calcem, continentia aquam. Portant enim de monte superbiae ad aedificium spirituale humiles elatos, patientes duros, stabiles levitati deditos, mansueti igne iracundiae dissolutos, continentes in lapsu positos. Audis proceritatem lignorum, duritiam lapidum, levitatem sabuli, ardorem calcis, effluentiam aquae. Cum autem aqua cum calce et sabulo miscetur, jam aliud quam prius esset efficitur, fit enim caementum, unde lapides in aedificio colligantur. Quae enim prius levia et dissoluta fuerant, jam sunt in ipsa conjunctione aliquantulum solidata. Dum autem caementum inter lapides ponitur, magis ac magis induratur, et sic quandoque fit, ut lapides velocius frangi possint, quam ipsum caementum conteri. Hoc idem in Ecclesia quotidie solet fieri, ut in saeculo qui fuerant instabiles, et dissoluti, in congregatione etiam inter perfectos fratres stabiles inveniantur et firmi. Potest etiam caementum moraliter intelligi concordia morum. Hi autem qui opus faciunt, lapides in caementum ponunt. Et sicut lapis sine caemento non potest in altum erigi, sic et paries virtutum sine caemento concordiae non potest elevari.[20]

The Abbey of the Holy Ghost offers an instance in early English literature in which, as in the passage quoted from *De claustro animae,* builders, method, and material are of significance:

And when þis ground es made, þan sall come a dameselle, Bowsomeness,

[19] *Ibid.,* 414.
[20] *P.L.,* CLXXVI, 1115-1116.

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on þe tone halfe, and dameselle Misericorde one þe toþer halfe, for to rayse þe walles one heghte, and to make þam stalworthe, with a fre hert largely gyfande to þe pure, and to þam þat myster hase. For when we do any gud werkes of charite thorow þe grace of Gode, als ofte sythis als we þam do in þe lufe and þe louynge of God, and in gud Entent, als many gud stonys we laye one owre howsynge in þe blysse of heuen, festenande togedir with þe lufe of Gode and oure euen crysten. We rede þat Salomon made his howssynge of grete precyous stones. Thiese precyous stones are almosdedis and werkes of mercy, & holy werkes þat sall be bownden togedir with qwyke lyme of lufe and stedfaste by-leue. And for-thi sayse Dauid, *Omnia opera eius in fide,* þat es to saye, 'alle his werkes be done in stedfaste byleue.' And als a walle may not laste with-owten syment, or more, also no werkes þat we wyrke, are noghte worthe to God, nor spedfull till oure sawles, bot þay be done in þe lufe of God and in trewe by-leue. For alle þat þe synfull dose, alle es loste. Sythen Dameselle Sufferance and damesell Forte sall rayse þe pelars, & undirsett þam so strangly, þat no wynde of wordes, angre of stryfe, fleschely nor gastely, sowre ne swete, caste þam downe. A, dere brethir and systers, ȝitt by-houys þe cloystre be made one foure corners, and it is called cloyster, for it closys and steskys, and warely sall be lokkede.[21]

It is impossible to read of the building of this spiritual abbey without recalling the "Castle of Truth," which occurs in all three texts of *Piers Plowman,* and the "Castle of Unity," found in texts B and C. In these two castles the treatment of building materials is very similar, although it offers no exact parallelism, to that appearing in *The Abbey.* As the "Castle of Truth" is described in the B-text, the moat is of mercy; the walls are of wit to keep will out. It is crenellated with Christendom to save mankind, and buttressed with Believe-so-or-thou-mayest-not-be-saved. The houses are roofed with love and low-speech-as-brethren; the bridge is of pray-well-that-ye-may-speed-the-better; each pillar is of penance and prayers to saints; the hooks on which the gates are hung are of alms deeds.[22] The Castle of Unity, B, XIX-XX and C, XXII-XXIII, is to have as its timbers the cross and the crown of thorns. The mortar of mercy is compounded of Christ's baptism and the blood that he shed on the rood. The building is to be wattled and walled with Christ's pains and passion, and the roof is to be of Holy Writ. Miss Dorothy Owen has suggested a parallel between the former of these *Piers Plowman* castles and Rutebeuf's "House of Humility" in the *Voie de Paradis.* Miss Owen thus sums up Rutebeuf's description: "The foundations

[21] Quoted from G. G. Perry's Edition *E.E.T.S., 26* (1913), pp. 52-53.
[22] Text B, V, 594 ff.

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are of concord, the threshold of patience; the walls of friendship; the timber of olive, signifying peace and love; the rafters of good luck. There are six windows—two of sweet-looks (douz-regart); two of grace; and two of loyalty and faith; but these windows are now broken."[23]

In *The Revelations of Saint Birgitta,* according to the English text recently edited by William Patterson Cumming, one reads of three houses that Christ and his spouse, namely, man's soul, should possess jointly. The first of these is to be stored with food for the body; the second, with clothing for the body; and the third, with "necessarie Instrumentz that longeth to þe profette of the howsholde." The food, drink, clothing, and instruments are given a figurative interpretation. That the contents of the house be well kept, there must be doors hanging on hinges and provided with locks. "þerfor, that our thynges gadered may be safe, þer moste be sette a door on our house; þat is to say, syker hope that it be broke with none adversite. And this hope must have too hyngges, that no man noþer dispeyr to gette blysse, ne presumpte to skape payne; bot in all dysese he truste all way ine the mercy of God, hopynge in better amendement. The loke of the door must be godely charite, wher-with þe dor moste be sperrede, that the enmye come nott ine."[24]

The Court of Sapience offers an interesting late example of the allegorically constructed building. The Castell of Sapience is thus described:

> Whan I had seene that souuerayn solempne syght,
> Dame Sapience led me a lyte besyde
> Unto a comly Castell shynyng bryght,
> Full of all solace, delyte, lust and pryde,
> In whos circuite wyth vawtes large and wyde 1475

[23] See Miss Owen's study of *Piers Plowman,* London, 1912, for a discussion of the castles in mediaeval French allegories. This summary of Rutebeuf's description appears on p. 98. The passage itself is to be found in A. Jubinal's edition of Rutebeuf's works, Vol. II, pp. 44-45.

[24] *E.E.T.S.,* 178, London, 1929, pp. 12-25. The quoted passage is to be found on p. 24. For this reference, I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs. Carleton Brown.

According to Dr. Cumming's Introduction (xxvii-xxviii), Saint Birgitta wrote her *Revelations* in Swedish, and her confessor translated them into Latin. The original text, then, was of the fourteenth century, since Saint Birgitta died in 1373 (*ibid.,* xxix). The MSS of the English translations are all of the fifteenth century (*ibid.,* xii-xxii).

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Of parfite blys yset were towyrs seuene,
The heyghte of whyche astyeth up to heuene.

The dyke of hit, yformyd wyth delyte,
Fulfillyd was wyth watyr of Quiete;
The marble stoone, the alabaustre whyte
By geometry so frendly gan meete,
That suche a wall in hede, body, and feete,
With precyous stones illumyned at deuyse,
Was neuer seen; hit passeth paradyse.[25]

It has been the purpose of this introductory chapter to bring together enough illustrations to indicate both the antiquity of the allegorical edifice and the frequency with which it was employed, especially in religious literature, throughout the Middle Ages; and to suggest the interest often to be found in builders and building materials. As for the secular literature of the later Middle Ages, one has only to recall such titles as *The Hous of Fame, The Temple of Glas, The Palice of Honour, The Castell of Labour,* to see that the figurative edifice made a lasting appeal to the writers of allegory.

[25] Quoted from Dr. Robert Spindler's edition: *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie,* VI, Leipzig, 1927, Stanzas 211-212, ll. 1471-1484, pp. 182-183. These stanzas are from the second book.

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I

THE TERMS: *CASTRUM, CASTELLUM, CASTLE*

AT THE outset of an inquiry concerning the use of the castle in allegory, it is necessary to examine the history of the term *castle.* The direct ancestor of the word is *castellum,* which in turn is a diminutive from *castrum.* The literal sense of *castrum* in classical Latin is thus given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae:* "domicilii et stationis militaris genus, in quo exercitus consistit vel refugit, navium statio." The same meaning is retained in the Middle Ages, but other meanings are added to it. Isidore of Seville, in Chapter III, Book IX of his *Etymologies,* wrote: "Castra sunt ubi miles steterit. . . . ."[1] But in the fifteenth book of the same work, one finds the following often quoted definition: "*Castrum* antiqui dicebant oppidum loco altissimo situm, quasi *casam altam,* cujus pluralis numerus *castra,* diminutivum *castellum* est, sive quod castrabatur licentia inibi habitantium, ne passim vaga hosti pateret."[2] By the time of Isidore of Seville, then, *castrum* had as a long established meaning that of a town built on a high place. From Du Cange one learns that there were cases in which *castrum* might be used in the sense of *urbs.* A *castrum* might be a city not under the law of the state (*civitatis*) or of the episcopate. Also according to Du Cange the definitions of *civitas* and *castrum* were related; again, illustrations are given showing that cities and towns might be called either *castra* or *castella.* Thus it becomes evident that *castrum* in the Middle Ages was not strictly a military term.

Castellum is defined in the *Thesaurus* as "proprie: castri parvi genus ad castra vel res alias tutanda extructum" examples being cited from Caesar, Livy, and others. It is further explained as meaning "latiore sensu, munitionis vel habitaculi parvi genus quodlibet plerumque ex castello militari ortum." Here Isidore of Seville, Cicero, and Livy are quoted, passages from the two latter being mentioned for comparison with that from Isidore's *Etymologiae sive*

[1] *P.L.,* LXXXII, 346. This definition is quoted by Du Cange.

[2] *Ibid.,* 537-538. See Du Cange for other definitions and citations. Compare also Mrs. Ella S. Armitage's *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London, 1912), pp. 25, 67-69, 383-384. Appendix D of Mrs. Armitage's book (pp. 383-384) is of special value since it adds to the list of illustrative citations on the meaning of *castrum* and of *castellum.*

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Origines, XV, 2, 11. The most interesting of these passages is that from Cicero's *De Republica* I,2 (not I,3 as given in the *Thesaurus*): " 'urbes magnas atque imperiosas,' ut appellat Ennius, viculis et castellis præferendas puto." Even in classical Latin, then, *castellum* might be used in a non-military sense. In St. Jerome's Vulgate edition of the Bible, the usual meaning of the word is *town* or *village.* As has been indicated in the discussion of the word *castrum,* it might also be used as a synonym for *urbs.* From Isidore of Seville we get the following illuminating fact: "Civitates autem, aut coloniæ, aut municipia, aut vici, aut castella, aut pagi appellantur."[8] Neither *castrum* nor *castellum* evidently was a precise term with a single clearly established meaning.

Even in classical Latin one finds both these terms used figuratively; the *Thesaurus* gives quotations from Plautus, Cicero, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and others showing *castrum* employed in a non-literal sense. *Castellum* served Cicero, Livy, and one or two others, according to the *Thesaurus,* as a term of figurative comparison. Of especial interest is the quotation from Livy's History of Rome III, 57. Virginius, in his eloquent arraignment of Appius Claudius, speaks of the tribunal as "castellum omnium scelerum."

Interesting as such a figure is, it is far from allegory. Nor could the *castellum* become the center of a definite allegory so long as it might be a camp, a village, a town, a city, or even a state. It is to be expected, then, that in the early stages, even if the word *castellum* be used, the "castle" allegory can hardly be dissociated on the one hand from that of the town, city, or state, and on the other hand from that of a military camp. Since, too, a town, or even a permanent camp such as the Romans often had for winter quarters, might be thought of merely as an abode, it may make little difference whether "domus" or "castellum" be the actual edifice figuring in the allegory. Since the camp or the fortified town was a place of refuge and of defence, any structure enclosing a precious object may be in principle a *castellum* even though it be called tabernacle, ark, or what not. Not until the castle becomes distinct as an institution, can a distinctive allegory of the castle be expected to develop.

[8] *Op. cit., P.L.,* LXXXII, 537. Hrabanus Maurus repeats this in his treatise *De universo,* Book XIV, Chapter I (*P.L.,* CXI, 375). Compare also the following distinction made by Hrabanus in the same passage: "Oppidum autem magnitudine et moenibus discrepat a vico et castello et pago."

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When the private castle as a fortified residence came into existence has not been definitely determined. It seems that Dom H. Leclercq would put it back as far as the fourth century. In his article on the château in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1914), he describes especially the fourth-century "castellum de Gouéa" in Algeria, and quotes from S. Gsell's *Les Monuments antiques de l'Algérie,* I, p. 106, the statement that this *castellum* "est un type parfait de la maison de campagne fortifiée, nous pourrions dire de la demeure seigneuriale, où les nécessités de la défense n'excluaient pas la recherche d'un certain luxe." Both Viollet-le-Duc and Leclercq call attention to the likeness between the Roman fixed camp and the later castle. Leclercq writes as follows: "Les Romains, avons-nous dit, faisaient des camps plus ou moins permanents qui étaient, à leur manière, de véritables châteaux avec enceinte de fossés, retranchements de terre couronnés de palissades, baraquements intérieurs et logement du chef, *turris pretoria.* Les Mérovingiens recueillirent ces méthodes et les combinèrent avec celles des barbares francs." In the same article Leclercq says: "Déjà Grégoire de Tours et Fortunat décrivent de véritables châteaux."[4] In England the private castle seems not to have arisen until after the Norman conquest,[5] and in France no proof has been discovered, I think, that it was known before the ninth century.[6]

It is probably to the ninth century that the beginnings of the most distinctive allegory of the castle, namely that in which the Blessed Virgin is conceived as a castle, are to be traced. So far as I have discovered, however, there is no real development of that allegory until the twelfth century, though it would perhaps be safe

[4] *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* publié par le Rme. dom Fernand Cabrol . . . . et le R.P. dom Henri Leclercq. . . . . Vol. III, part I, Paris, 1914. See cols. 1215-1217. The reference to Viollet-le-Duc is to his *Essai sur l'architecture au moyen âge,* especially p. 12. Paris, 1854. Compare also Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Art of War: the Middle Ages from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century.* (London and New York, 1898), pp. 517-542.

[5] G. T. Clark, in his *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England* (London, 1884), expresses the view that the Anglo-Saxon *burh* was really a private castle; but to my mind Mrs. Ella S. Armitage has successfully combated this opinion in *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles.* See especially Chapter V: "The Origin of the Private Castle."

[6] See Mrs. Armitage's book as cited in the preceding note. Compare also an article by M. Emile Mâle: "Le Château de Coucy et l'architecture militaire

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to say the late eleventh, since the allegory appears in rather an elaborate form about the year 1100. The battle of the vices and the virtues around the *castrum* antedates this period, going back at least to the fourth century A.D., but here we have the camp, not the feudal castle. From the thirteenth century on, allegories occur in which castles are the centre of such conflicts. The conception of the body as an edifice is very ancient, but not the castle of the body. The use of the castle to figure as a convent seems not to have originated before the twelfth century.

The development of the castle allegory presents an interesting parallel between literature and social conditions. Before the twelfth century, so far as we find the *castellum* figuring in allegory, we find its part interchangeable with that of other edifices; in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, although the castle may still appear in allegory without itself being allegorically treated, it gains significance from the commanding position of the real castle in actual life. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the castle was the center of social life. No story or romance of the Middle Ages could possibly be written without its castles: no more could allegory, mirroring life in abstraction, dispense with the most important social institution of the time.

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II

THE CASTLE OF THE BODY

THE conception of the body as an edifice, or more particularly as a castle, belongs to a family of allegories having to do with the body and its members. The members of the body when represented as at variance one with another, supply the theme for an allegorical dispute like that in John of Salisbury's "Carmen de membris conspirantibus,"[1] in which feet, hands, and other members conspire against the stomach; or for the well known debate between heart and eye. To the latter branch belongs an interesting dispute in Huon de Méri's *Tornoiement de l'Antéchrist,* in which the eyes, conceived as the porters of the castle, are blamed by the heart for having admitted the enemy.[2]

When there is no thought of dispute, but rather the members of the body are conceived as harmonious parts of the whole, the body may be represented as a microcosm, as an island, as a state, as a city, as a castle, or as a house. The figure of the bodily edifice has been perennial throughout the history of literature.[3]

As has been indicated in the first chapter of this study, the conception was known to Greek literature. In the *Timaeus* of Plato occurs the figure of the head as a citadel.[4] In various Scriptural passages the body is compared to an edifice of some kind. In II Corinthians V, i, for instance, the body is called "the earthly house of this tabernacle"; in Job IV, 19, it is likened to a house of clay; in Wisdom IX, 15, the corruptible body is said to press down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle to weigh down the "mind that museth upon many things."[5] From the divine instructions to Noah (Genesis VI, 14f.), St. Ambrose develops a rather elaborate physical allegory. As the ark was to be of squared timbers, so in the body exactness

[1] *P.L.,* CXCIX, 1005-1008.

[2] *Le Tornoiement de l'Antéchrist,* edited by P. Tarbé, Reims 1851; pp. 77-82. This passage is summarized by Miss Dorothy Owen in her book entitled *Piers Plowman,* London, 1912, pp. 100-101.

[3] For an interesting list of citations, see the late Professor A. S. Cook's note on *faeger feorgbold* in his edition of *The Dream of the Rood.*

[4] *Timaeus,* 70 B, Loeb's Classical Library Edition.

[5] These passages, and several others, are mentioned by Cook in the list of citations to which reference is made in Note 3. Other Scriptural passages included in that list are II Peter, 1, 13, and 14, and Isaiah, XXXVIII, 12.

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of dimensions and proportion must be kept. "Nidos," as it occurs in the command "Nidos facies in arca," is grotesquely interpreted with reference to various parts of the body.[6]

Among the allegorical edifices to be found in the writings of Philo, the body as the house of the soul is a frequent figure. An example may be quoted from the treatise "On Rewards and Punishments" as translated by C. D. Yonge: "For God has thought fit to give as a reward to the virtuous a house thoroughly well built and well put together from the foundations to the roof; and the most natural house for the soul is the body, inasmuch as it does many things necessary and useful for life, and especially on account of the mind which has been purified by perfect purifications; and which having been initiated in the divine mysteries, and having learnt to dwell only among the motions and periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies, God has honored with tranquility wishing it to be completely undisturbed and exempt from any contact of those passions which the necessities of the body engender, adding, out of covetousness, a desire for sovereignty over the passions."[7]

Examples such as this showing the representation of the body as an edifice could be multiplied from patristic writings and from other sources. An interesting illustration from a comparatively late text is supplied by *The Pricke of Conscience:*

> Ilka man's body may be cald,
> As a castell here for to hold,
> That til man esgyfen of God to kepe
> For his profit and Goddes worshepe,
> The enemys ofte assales it hard
> And thar for says Saynt Bernard:
> Bonum castrum custodit
> Qui corpus suum custodit.[8]

[6] *Liber de Noë et arca, P.L.,* XIV, 388.

[7] Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library, *Works of Philo Judaeus,* in four volumes, III (London, 1854), p. 483.

[8] Edited by Richard Morris; published for the Philological Society, Berlin, 1863. Book V, ll. 5280 ff. What Bernard actually says is: "Solent dicere homines hujus saeculi: Bonum castellum custodit, qui corpus suum custodit, nos autem non sic: sed sterquilinium vile custodit, qui custodit corpus suum, Apostolo teste, *Quoniam qui seminat in carne, de carne metet corruptionem: qui vero,* inquit, *in Spiritu, de spiritu metet vitam aeternum.* (Galat. VI, 8). Ac si dicat, colendum, custodiendum magis animae castrum, quoniam aeterna ex ipso vita procedit." From *Sermones de diversis,* Sermo LXXXII, *P.L.,* CLXXXIII, 700.

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In this short passage from *The Pricke of Conscience* occurs a combination of two motifs: that of the castle of the body and that of the castle besieged. One may say that there is implied the battle between the vices and the virtues as well, since the "enemies" assailing from without are supposedly vices, and the forces protecting the castle, virtues. Something of the same combination is developed at considerable length in an elaborate earlier allegory: *Le Songe du castel,* which is probably to be dated in the thirteenth century.[9] In that poem, however, there is hardly a suggestion of the conflict between vices and virtues; the forces of evil attack under the leadership of the Seven Deadly Sins, but meet with little resistance. In the end, death overcomes the castle.

The author of the *Songe du castel* represents himself as falling asleep and dreaming. In his dream he finds himself walking in a field where he meets a host of persons who make show of friendship, turn back with him, and lead him into a meadow where he finds a great assembly of people and a very rich and powerful king. All his attention centers itself, now, upon a strange castle which quite delights his eyes. He walks around it but can find no entry. The castle is placed upon two slender pillars, and is itself slenderly built. There is neither wicket nor gate, but very high up are two windows. Under these windows is an entry through which are conveyed all provisions for the sustenance of the castle. This long, narrow entry is protected by two barbicans, which, by closing, may bar ingress.

The king who has this castle in his keeping sits before it morning

[9] MS 25566, fonds français, Bibliothèque Nationale, fols. 250[b]-253[a]. It is dated as of the fourteenth century in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie,* II[1] (Strassburg, 1902), p. 870. But in the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. Duc de la Vallière,* II (Paris, 1783), pp. 226 ff., and in the *Catalogue général des manuscrits français,* par M. Omont, II, (Paris, 1902), pp. 647-650, it is said to be of the thirteenth century. Likewise, in L. Nicod's edition of *Les Partures Adan* (1917), p. 33, it is placed in the middle or at the end of the thirteenth century. Cp. *Histoire littéraire de la France* XXIII, p. 260. Cp. also *Romania,* XXIV, 145; IX, 222 ff.; Otto Rohnström's *Étude sur Jehan Bodel,* Upsala, 1900, pp. 22, 24-26; A. Jeanroy, *Jeu de S. Nicolas (Cl. fr. d.m.a.,* 1925); and A. Tobler's description of the MS in the third edition of *Le dis dou vrai aniel* (1912). C. R. Post, in *Mediaeval Spanish Allegory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), mentions the poem as of the thirteenth century. The preponderance of scholarly opinion is in favor of a thirteenth century date for the MS in question.

For several of these references, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Grace Frank.

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and evening. Soon, however, seven kings leading great forces, march upon the castle. They attack, one after the other, but seemingly produce no effect; the castle actually seems stronger and more beautiful after than before the onslaught. Five of the kings attack by the windows; the sixth attacks by the narrow portal beneath the windows; the seventh attacks only under cover of darkness. The king who might be expected to defend the castle simply looks on. The seven kings take possession, and there is great feasting and merry-making. At last there comes a fierce and hideous king riding a black horse, and bearing a sword with which he has cut off many a life. In the fourth part of a day, he has confounded the castle, closed windows and barbicans. The castle which has been so strong and beautiful is now prone upon the earth.

Having narrated his dream, the author proceeds to explain it. The castle, he says, is Man. In his youth he is, like this castle, full of strength and beauty. The two pillars upon which the castle rests are the legs; the two windows are the eyes; the narrow portal with its barbicans, is the mouth with its teeth, the *entrée périlleuse*. The king who so indifferently beholds the attack of the seven kings is the World, willing enough to see man besieged by the seven potentates, who, as will have been foreseen, are none other than the Seven Deadly Sins. The dark king who finally overcomes the castle is Death.

Here an extraordinary emphasis is put upon the actual form of the castle as that of the human body. In no other castle piece have I found so great particularity in this respect. This poem is of further significance in presenting a rather early secular development of what is usually a religious theme.

In a manuscript which once belonged to the Benedictine monastery at Reichenau, but which is now owned by the Hof- und Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe, MS Augiensis 137, is a lengthy Latin prose piece of considerable interest: *Castrum humani corporis*.[10] It is given over very largely to moral precepts, and it ends with a chapter on the sacrament of penitence. As the title indicates, however, the fundamental conception is that of the human body as a "castrum,"

[10] For rotographs of this MS, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor K. Preisendanz, Keeper of the MSS in the Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe. Concerning the date of the MS, see A. Holder's Catalogue of the Reichenau MSS: *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, II, pp. 294-295; and Vol. III[3] (by Professor Preisendanz) p. 168, and "Anmerkungen," p. 172.

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The king, or *princeps rationalis,* of the whole is "Animus," who has three principal palaces: the first in the heart, the second in the liver, the third in the head. Each palace, in turn, has a suitable governor (*villicus*). The keeper of the first palace is the spirit of life (*spiritus vitalis*) to whom the arteries are subject; the keeper of the second palace is *spiritus naturalis,* served by the veins; the keeper of the third palace is *spiritus animalis,* whom all the nerves obey. The chief palace of the king is the human heart; it is there that he holds his court and from there he sends out his strength to all parts of the camp. In the head are three chambers, differing in place and in function: the first is called *fantasticalis;* the second, *rationalis;* the third, *memorialis.* The thoughts of the king are received in the first, assorted in the second, guarded in the third. The other members of the "castrum" are both interior and exterior. The five senses are the five gates of the castle, which must be shut whenever there is danger that evil may enter. Death enters by the windows.—Thus the *Castrum humani corporis* combines a rather elaborate form of the physical allegory with the theme of guarding the spirit, or soul, of man.

A castle of the body with the emphasis reversed, that is, with chief stress upon the guarding of "Lady Anima," is the castle of Kynde in *Piers Plowman.*[11] Since this castle is to be discussed in the next chapter, it is necessary here only to call attention to the use of the ancient idea that the body is composed of four elements,[12] and to the choice of the heart as the seat of the soul. In this latter respect there is a certain agreement with the *Castrum humani corporis,* in which the principal palace of "Animus" is the heart.

[11] *Piers Plowman,* A, Passus X, 1 ff.; B, Passus IX, 1 ff.; C, Passus XI, 127 ff.

[12] See Skeat's note in his three-text edition, *E.E.T.S.,* 67, p. 216. Compare also Philo Judaeus "On One Who is the Heir of Divine Things," Bohn Ecclesiastical Library, II, p. 123; the "Spuria" of Saint Athanasius (supposedly of the fourth century according to Migne's edition), "De corpore et anima,"* *P.G.,* XXVIII, 1431; Bishop Nemesius (about 400), "De natura hominis," *P.G.,* XL, 607; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae,* XI, Caput 1, *P.L.,* LXXXII, 399: "Caro autem ex quatour elementis compacta est. Nam *terra* in carne est, *aer* in halitu, *humor* in sanguine, *ignis* in calore vitali." See also Saint Bernard's "In Festo omnium sanctorum," Sermo IV, *P.L.,* CLXXXIII, 474. Note Skeat's suggestion concerning air and wind, and the parallel which he quotes from the *Cursor Mundi.*

* Throughout this study *P.G.* means *Patrologia Graeca,* edited by J. P. Migne.

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In the castle of the body, then, one finds connections with other allegorical conceptions: with that of dissension among the members of the bodily state, with that of the microcosm or commonwealth, with that of other edifices than the castle, with that of the siege, and with that of the soul and its wardens.

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III

THE CASTLE AND THE WARDENS OF THE SOUL

ONE of the most important developments of the castle motif in literature originates through its association with various allegories having to do with the keeping of the heart or the guarding of the soul. In most of these allegories, man, or man's conscience, is the city, house, or castle in which the wardens of the soul protect their charge: in some cases, however, there is emphasis upon the body as the actual edifice. Thus the custody of the soul is linked on the one hand with the castle of the body discussed in the preceding chapter, and on the other with a purely abstract domain such as that seen in the fifth of the "Parables of Bernard" to be treated later.

The body as a house or castle with the five senses as the wardens of the soul is a conception to be found as early as Philo Judaeus. "Again," wrote the learned Alexandrian, "the body guards of the soul are hearing, and seeing, and smelling, and taste, and the whole band of the outward senses, and also health, and strength, and vigour, and energy. For the mind, when walking among and living in the company of these things, as between well-fortified boundaries firmly standing and solidly established, triumphs and rejoices, meeting with no hindrance on any side to prevent it from exerting its own impulses, but having its road in every direction easy, and level, and open, and easy to be travelled."[1]

That an allegory concerning the protection of the soul should connect itself with the body is to be expected. The relation between body and soul was of keen interest throughout the Middle Ages, and, if a modern terminology be employed, continues to be so in the present scientific age. To the mediaeval thinker the actual seat of the soul in the body was a topic for philosophic and theological speculation. An interesting passage on this subject occurs in the *De anima* of Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus (sixth century), Chapter VIII: "De sede animae":

> Quidam sedem animae, quamvis sit in corpore toto diffusa, in corde esse voluerunt, dicentes quod ibi purissimus sanguis et vitalis spiritus continetur, ut [Ms. Aud. *et*] inde etiam cogitationes sive bonas sive malas

[1] Bohn's *Ecclesiastical Library, Works of Philo Judaeus,* II, p. 5.

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exire confirment; quod animae virtutem operari posse non dubium est. Plurimi autem in capite insidere manifestant (si fas est cum reverentia tamen dicere) ad similitudinem aliquam Divinitatis; quae licet omnia ineffabili substantia sua repleat; Scriptura tamen coelo insidere confirmat. . . . .[2]

Wherever the soul dwells, it is ever to be guarded from the arrows of Satan; from worldly follies that enter through the five gates of the castle, *i.e.,* the senses; from the vices that assail the virtues. The allegorical development of the custody of the soul[3] may be complex or simple. Most of the allegories embodying this theme can be traced ultimately to Scriptural sources.

Such is the case with two interesting passages in Old English literature which refer to the guardian of the soul: one in the *Beowulf,* 1740-1744, the other in Cynewulf's *Christ,* 1549-1554. The *Beowulf* lines are as follows:

> oð pæt him on innan oferhygda dǣl 1740
> weaxeð ond wrīdað; þonne se weard swefeð,
> sāwele hyrde; bið se slæp tō fæst,
> bisgum gebunden, bona swīðe nēah,
> sē þe of flānbogan fyrenum scēoteð.

With these must be taken also the passage from the *Christ:*

> þæt wē magon eahtan, ond on ān cweþan, 1549
> sōðe secgan, þæt sē sāwle weard,
> līfes wisdōm, forloren hæbbe,
> se þe nū ne gīemeð hwæþer his gǣst sīe
> earm þe ēadig þǣr hē ēce sceal
> æfter hingonge hāmfæst wesan.

The parallelism between these two passages has been shown both by Cook and by Klaeber.[4] Klaeber finds the origin of the conception in several verses from the Bible. Of the passages cited, "Sobrii estote et vigilate, quia adversarius vester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit" (I Peter V, 8) seems to me to offer the most

[2] *P.L.,* LXX, 1293.

[3] I should perhaps say that the phrase "the custody of the soul" is borrowed from the heading used in Brandl and Zippel's *Mittelenglische Sprach- und Litteraturproben* (Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1927) as a heading for Dan Michel's allegory based on the Victorine *De anima.*

[4] See Cook's note on l. 1550 in his edition of the *Christ,* and Klaeber's note on l. 1742 in *Beowulf* (1922). With these compare Klaeber's article "Die christlichen Elemente im *Beowulf,*" *Anglia* XXXV (1912), especially pp. 131 ff.

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probable source.[5] Any one of them, however, might have given rise to an allegorical treatment of the "sāwle weard."

A Scriptural precept that did certainly lend itself to allegory is "Omni custodia serva cor tuum, quia ex ipso vita procedit" (Proverbs IV, 23). This occurs more by way of emphasis than as a theme for development in Gregory's *Moralia* I, in elucidation of Job I, 5: "Tota itaque virtute muniendus est aditus mentis, ne quando eam insidiantes hostes penetrent foramine neglectae cogitationis. Hinc Salomon ait: *Omni custodia serva cor tuum, quoniam ex ipso vita procedit* (*Prov.* IV, 23)."[6] One finds it definitely connected with the castle (*castellum* and *castrum*) in at least two passages from Saint Bernard. In both cases there is a comparison between the common proverb, "Bonum castellum custodit, qui corpus suum custodit" and the words of Solomon in Proverbs IV, 23. It is not the body, says Bernard, that should be the first charge, though it must be kept from the enemy, but the heart, or the "castrum animae," since from that proceed the issues of life.[7]

The second part of the *Ancren Riwle* is developed from the text "Omni custodia serva cor tuum, quia ex ipso vita procedit." To keep well the heart one must guard the five senses: "The wardens of the heart are the five senses: sight, hearing, taste, smelling and every member's feeling, and we shall speak of them all; for whoever guards them well doth Solomon's command."[8] Here, although the figure of the fortress or castle is not actually stated, it is implied. In the course of the treatise, there appears the motif of Satan shoot-

[5] Other Scriptural passages are: Mark XIII, 33, 35, 36; Matthew XXIV, 43; Luke XII, 39; Psalms CXX, 3; Psalms XC, 11. Some passages from patristic literature are mentioned also. Two of especial significance are from Gregory's *Moralia* I, Chapter 35; VIII, Ch. 31. Klaeber gives a number of other interesting citations in the *Anglia* article mentioned, p. 132.

[6] This is among the passages cited by Klaeber in the *Anglia* article to which reference has just been given. See *P.L.*, LXXV, 549.

[7] "In Assumptione B. V. Mariae, Sermo II," *P.L.*, CLXXXIII, 418; *Sermones de diversis,* Sermo LXXXII, *ibid.*, 699-700. In the former passage, Bernard, after stating that it is Solomon's precept rather than the popular one that is to be observed, does proceed to show in what sense the body must be guarded; in the second, however, he is very emphatic in his utterance: "Bonum castellum custodit qui corpus suum custodit. Nos autem, non sic: sed sterquilinium vile custodit, qui custodit corpus suum."

[8] The *Ancren Riwle,* edited by James Morton, Camden Society Publications 57 (London, 1853), p. 51. I have quoted from Morton's modernization.

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ing his arrows at the anchoress who puts forth her head in the open battlements of the castle.[9]

Related in theme to the second part of the *Ancren Riwle,* though not based directly upon the Biblical passages mentioned, is a stanza in Thomas de Hales' poem, "A Luve Ron":

> He haueþ bi-tauht þe o tresur
> þat is betere þan gold oþer pel.
> And bit þe luke þine bur
> and wilneþ þat þu hit wyte wel
> Wyþ þeoues, wiþ reueres, wiþ lechurs
> þu most beo waker and snel.
> þu art swetture þane eny flur
> hwile þu witest þene kastel.[10]

From Psalms CXXVI, 1: *Sed nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam,* seems to have developed the fifth of the "Parables of Bernard": "De fide, spe, et charitate," an interesting allegory which belongs to the group centering about Faith, Hope, and Charity, but which also clearly presents the problem confronting the guardian of the soul when the enemy attacks. A noble and powerful king had three daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity. To them he delegated the rule of an excellent state, or, perhaps, city *(civitatem),* the human soul. Since there are in this city three strongholds *(arces),* "Rationabilitas," "Concupiscibilitas," and "Irascibilitas," he put each daughter in charge of one citadel: to Faith he gave the first; to Hope, the second; to Charity, the third. Faith was placed in command of "Rationabilitas" because faith has no merit if human reason furnishes proof by experience. Spes was given authority over "Concupiscibilitas" because it is not permitted us to long for what we see, but rather for what we hope; and hope that is seen is not hope. Charity was set over "Irascibilitas" that the ardency of virtue might dominate the ardency of nature; natural ardor may bring itself up from the depths into the ardor of virtue.

When the daughters had entered their respective estates, each one set her house in order. Faith appointed Prudence as the guardian of her household, and added to her as aides Obedience, Patience, "Dispensatio," Order, and, as keeper of the door, Discipline. Hope placed Sobriety over her house, with Discretion, Continence, Con-

[9] *Ibid.,* 61.

[10] *An Old English Miscellany,* edited Richard Morris, *E.E.T.S.* 49; see p. 97. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Carleton Brown.

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stancy, and Humility as companions, and with Silence as door-keeper. Charity committed her citadel into the hands of Pity (or Piety? *Pietas*). To Pity was given, for first place, "Munditia corporis" to be aided by suitable exercises, that is, readings, meditations, prayers, and spiritual affections. Peace was appointed as doorkeeper. When the three strongholds had thus been set in order, Liberum Arbitrium was established as a sort of governor of the whole city. The daughters then returned to the home of their father.

An enemy came, and envying the happy state of the city, devised plots for its overthrow. He first corrupted two of the principal citizens, Discretion and Dispensation, and then brought in through the gates of "Rationabilitas" and "Concupiscibilitas" his army of vices. Liberum Arbitrium was bound in iron chains and cast into prison. The guardians of the citadel of Reason, "Rationabilitas," having been overthrown, Blasphemy was soon inducted against Faith. Everything was thrown into confusion; the porter, Discipline, was put down, and there was free ingress and egress for all. Likewise, Luxuria entered the house of Hope, "Concupiscibilitas"; and Superbia became mistress of the citadel of Charity. Thus the entire city fell into the hands of the enemy.

A sorrowful messenger brought to the princesses the unhappy news. Deeply distressed, they sought their father's aid. They attributed the downfall of the city to the negligence of Liberum Arbitrium and asked that Grace be given him as an aid. Their father promised to send Grace, but decided to send Timor first to prepare the way. Timor departed taking the rod of discipline. The city was brought to a state of fear. Grace then entered with all the virtues. Liberum Arbitrium put himself in the governance of Grace, and there was rejoicing and banqueting "Fercula praeparantur filiabus regis domus suae, et mensae ponuntur congruae. In mensa quippe Fidei panis ponitur doloris, et aqua angustiae, et caetera poenitentiae fercula. In mensa Spei panis confortans, et oleum exhilarans faciem, et caetera consolationis fercula. In mensa Charitatis panis vitae, vinumque laetificans, et omnes deliciae paradisi. Jam ingrediuntur et epulantur, et custodiunt civitatem. Sed nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam (Psal. CXXVI, 1)."[11]

[11] *P.L.*, CLXXXIII, 770-772. See also K. Raab, *op. cit.* Compare the allegory of the banquet with that in a Latin homily described by Professor Carleton Brown in his notes on No. 88, p. 272 of *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century.*

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Of all the Biblical texts, that of the paterfamilias who, had he known the hour at which the thief might come, would not have let his house be invaded, proved most productive. Many of the homilists and commentators had something to say about this verse, which occurs virtually twice. Luke XII, 39 is as follows: *Hoc autem scitote, quoniam si sciret paterfamilias, qua hora fur venerit, vigilaret utique, et non sineret perfodi domum suam;* Matthew XXIV, 43: *Illud autem scitote quoniam si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur venturus esset, vigilaret utique, et non sineret perfodi domum suam.*

As an early comment tending toward allegory, if not truly allegorical, the remarks of Saint Hilarius, Bishop of Poitou written, presumably about 355 A.D., may be quoted:

Vigilantiae necessitas.—Atque ut ignorantiam illam diei omnibus taciti, non sine utilis silentii ratione esse sciremus; vigilare nos propter adventum furis admonuit, et orationum assiduitate detentos omnibus praeceptorum suorum operibus inhaerere (Matthew XXIV, 43). Furem enim esse ostendit diabolum, ad detrahenda ex nobis spolia pervigilem, et corporum nostrorum domibus insidiantem ut ea, incuriosis nobis et somno deditis, consiliorum suorum atque illecebrarum jaculis perfodiat. Paratos igitur esse nos convenit: quia diei ignoratio intentam sollicitudinem suspensae exspectationis exagitet.[12]

Eusebius Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea Palestine (fourth century), spoke of the many reasons for vigilance, not only on account of the sudden and unexpected coming of the Lord, but also on account of the thief lying in wait for the riches of divine blessings and, as it were, for the "pater familias." [13]

In the *Glossa ordinaria* by Walahfrid Strabo of Fulda, later abbot of Reichenau (ninth century), one finds a somewhat similar comment upon Luke XII, 38-39. "In nocte hujus mundi semper debemus esse contra hostem solliciti, et exspectare lucem venturam, id est adventum

[12] "In Evangelium Matthei commentarius," *P.L.*, IX, 1058. Cp. the following from John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople (cir. 407 A.D.) "In Matthaeum homiliae," *P.G.*, LVIII, 705: *"Illud autem scitote si sciret paterfamilias qua hora fur venturus esset, vigilaret utique, et non sineret perfodi dumum saum. 44. Ideo et vos estote parati, quia qua hora non putatis, Filius hominus veniet.* Propterea dicit, Qua hora non expectatis veniet, ut sollicitos reddat et virtutis colendae studiosos. Illud autem sibi vult, si scirent plerique homines quando nam sint morituri, diligentiam suam circa illam horam exhiberent."

[13] *Commentaria in Lucam,* XII, 39. *P.G.*, XXIV, 562-3. The Latin is: "Multis de causis frugi nobis agitare vitam vigilareque mandat, non solum ob subitum inopinumque diei Domini adventum, sed etiam propter furem divinorum honorum divitibus ac veluti patribusfamilias insidiantem."

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judicis. Prima ergo vigilia custodia pueritae est, secunda juventutis, tertia senectutis . . . . Unde, *Hoc autem scitote quoniam si sciret paterfamilias.* Nesciente patrefamilias fur domum perfodit, quia dum a sui custodia spiritus dormit, improvisa mors carnis habitaculum irrumpit, et ad supplicia trahit. Furi autem resisteret si vigilaret, quia adventum judicis occulte venientem praecavens, poenitendo occurreret."[14]

It is in a treatise formerly attributed to Hugo of Saint Victor, *De anima,*[15] and appended to Migne's edition of his works, that the most finished Latin allegory proceeding from the "Paterfamilias" passage is to be found. The father of the house is the mind *(animus),* whose family are thoughts, emotions, sensations and actions, outer as well as inner. The members of this family are likely to be wanton and petulant, unless coerced and ordered by the strength of the father. If he relax his vigilance ever so little, who can say how haughty eyes, tongue, ears, and other organs may become in thought? The house is the conscience, in which the father has collected the treasures of the virtues; great care must be exercised lest the house be robbed *(effodiatur).* The thief, moreover, is not one but multiple, because certain individual vices lie in wait for individual virtues. Nevertheless the principal thief is known to be the devil. To be on guard against him and his satellites, the father places Prudence at the door. Fortitude should be near at hand to repel any too insistent comers. Justice is to be seated in the midst to give every one his due. Vigilance must be unrelenting, for the thief may come at any hour. Prudence should introduce certain messengers who may incite the household to action. Thus the messenger of death seeking ingress is admitted. Having first demanded complete silence, he announces himself as the Fear of Death, and then proceeds to describe the torments of hell. The wardens of the treasure then take counsel: "Prudentia: 'Deus, quid faciemus? Nunc, fratres, audite consilium meum, et date vestrum. *Estote fideles, prudentes, et vigilate in orationibus providentes bona non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam coram hominibus'* (II *Cor.* VIII). Temperantia: *'Praeoccupemus faciem ejus* (*Psal.* XCIV) etc. *Sobrii estote*

[14] *P.L.*, CXIV, 298.

[15] B. Hauréau in *Les Oeuvres de Hugues de Saint Victor* (Nouvelle Édition, Paris, 1886, pp. 174-184) shows that the so-called *De anima* is made up of four separate tracts, none of which can be ascribed with much probability to Hugo of Saint Victor.

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et vigilate (*I Petr.* V) etc.' Fortitudo: *'Cui resistite fortes in fide (ibid.).* Confortamini in Domino, induite vos armaturam Dei, loricam justitiæ, scutum fidei, galeam salutis. Assumite et gladium Spiritus, quod est verbum Dei' (*Ephes.* VI). *Justitia: 'Sobrie, et juste, et pie vivamus* (*Tit.* II). Sobrie in nobis, juste ad proximum, pie ad Deum. Est quod nobis fieri nolumus, aliis non faciamus, hoc enim justum est.' "

A second messenger, *Desiderium vitae aeternae,* arrives bringing news of the bliss of heaven. The members of the household, recovering from despair, become imbued with a desire to attain heavenly joy. Since Timor is no longer of service, they send him away, with a promise to recall him if necessary. The conclusion of the author is: "Sic debet quisque torporem suum excutere, et a timore ad caelestis patriae desiderium transferre."[16]

From this allegory, as both William Vollhardt and M. Konrath have pointed out, two English pieces, *Sawles Warde* and Dan Michel's Kentish tract on the same theme, took their origin.[17] *Sawles Warde,* one of the finest homilies in the English language, is dated in the first half of the thirteenth century; the Kentish allegory, 1340. Résumés of both these tracts are to be found in Wells's *Manual*[18] and elsewhere, but in order to place the substance before the reader here, I shall give brief summaries, taking *Sawles Warde* first.

The lord of the house, Wit, has an untoward wife, Will, whose behests the servants in the house are regrettably inclined to obey. Wit must keep both his wife and the servants under constant surveillance. Of the servants, some are without; some, within. Those without are the five senses: sight and hearing, tasting, smelling and feeling; those within are man's desires to serve the housewife against the will of God: "Inwiþ beoþ his hinen in se moni mislich þonc to cwemen wel þe husewif aȝein Godes wille, ant swerieþ somet reaðliche þat efter hire hit schal gan; þah we hit ne here nawt, we mahen i-felen hare murþ ant hare untohe bere, a þet wit cume forþ ant ba

[16] *De anima* IV, Chapters XIII-XV. *P.L.,* CLXXVII, 185-188. See also A. Brandl and O. Zippel's *Mittelenglische Sprach- und Litteraturproben,* Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1927; pp. 237-242.

[17] See William Vollhardt's doctoral dissertation: *Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Litteratur auf einige kleinere Schöpfungen der englischen Übergangsperiode,* Leipzig, 1888, p. 26-41. and M. Konrath's article "Die lateinische Quelle zu *Ayenbite, ed. Morris* p. 263-269 und zu *Sawles Warde," Englische Studien,* XII (1889), 459 ff.

[18] J. E. Wells: *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English,* 1050-1400, New Haven, 1926. See pp. 272-274; 345-346.

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wiđ eie ant wiđ luve tuhte ham þe betere." If Wit sleep or be away from home, the servants have their own way. But it is important that the house be not robbed, for within it is a treasure that God himself gave, having bought it by his death upon the rood: man's soul. Many a thief goes about to break into the house. For every virtue that dwells in this house, God's dear castle, under the governance of Wit, there is a corresponding vice seeking to murder those therein. The leader of these vices is the devil. Wit warns his household against the enemy. Our Lord has lent to Wit four of his daughters: Prudence (Warschipe), Strength (Strengđe), Moderation (Meađ), Righteousness (Rihtwisnesse). Wit, the husband, God's constable, calls Prudence and makes her doorkeeper; Strength stands next to cast out anyone who, when refused admittance, tries to enter by force. Moderation is to keep the wilful members of the household in proper bounds: to instruct them in holding to measure in their actions. Righteousness is to judge, to reward those who do well and to recompense every one according to his desert. To incite the dwellers of the castle to greater watchfulness, Prudence admits a messenger of Death, Fear, who gives his audience a graphic picture of the terrors of hell. After the message of Fear has been duly heard and taken to heart, there comes another messenger, Mirth, whose mission is to give the now despairing household tidings of joy and of heavenly bliss. In the end, Prudence and Strength wish to cast out Fear. Fear, however, protests that his message has been as profitable as that of Mirth. Moderation pacifies Fear by telling him that although he must depart now, he shall be received as often as there is need for him. Now Will and the servants in the house submit themselves to Wit to follow his teaching. Thus, says the homilist, should man ever be mindful to follow Wit and to subject his will, to cherish the cardinal virtues as guardians of God's treasure, the soul of man.[19]

[19] *Sawles Warde* has been edited by Richard Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, 34 (1868), *Old English Homilies*, First Series, p. 245 ff.; by F. Kluge, *M.E. Lesebuch*, pp. 8-15; by Wagner, (Bonn, 1908); by Joseph Hall, *Selections from Early Middle English*, 1130-1250: 2 vols., Oxford, 1920; by A. Brandl and O. Zippel in *Mittelenglische Sprach- und Litteraturproben*, Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1927, p. 227 ff. The present summary is based on the last-named text, but, in the quotation, I have adopted two readings recorded by the editors (p. 227) from MS C: *murđ* and *wit*, rather than *nurđ* and *hit*.

Note Wells's suggestion (*Manual*, 274) that the wife, Will, reminds one of Anselm of Canterbury's *Liber de Similitudinibus*, Cap. 2, "Similitudo inter Mulierem et Voluntatem." Compare also Vollhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

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The Kentish allegory is written at the end of Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwit* (1340). In the later version, the froward wife does not appear. The house is Inwit and the father of the house is the "wyl of skele,"[20] a phrase which Morris translates as the "will of reason." The paterfamilias has a great many retainers; among them are his thoughts and senses. He must keep careful watch over them. The four virtues who here act as guardians are Prudence (Sleȝþe), Strength (Strengþe), Righteousness (Riȝtnesse), and Temperance, who at first is called þolemodness, and later, Temperancia. The messengers are "Drede" and "Love of Lyve evrelestynde, an Wylnynge of þe contraye of hevene." Their respective messages are substantially the same as in the earlier homily.

The later English allegory follows the Latin rather closely. The chief difference that I observe is that Prudence (Sleȝþe) uses the phrase "broþren and zostren" in addressing the virtues, whereas the Latin is simply "fratres." Neither in this piece nor in the original are the virtues called the daughters of God. In neither does the froward wife appear. In neither is the treasure to be guarded called specifically man's soul: in the Latin it is designated as "thesauros virtutum"; in the English, as "hord of virtues." In neither are the torments of hell made quite so vivid as in *Sawles Warde*. The thirteenth-century homilist seems to have written with a good deal of originality.

A comparison of *De anima,* Book IV, Chapters XIII-XV, with the two English versions of the soul's ward allegory leaves no doubt that the latter are, indeed, independently derived from the former. As Konrath has said,[21] the theory once held by Ten Brink that the Kentish piece was a reworking of *Sawles Warde* cannot be maintained, since the later allegory is far closer to the Latin than is the earlier. The only question that arises is whether the author of *Sawles Warde* introduced the features characteristic of his allegory, or whether he had, in addition to the Latin source pointed out, some secondary source, or, indeed, whether he used some now unknown intermediate version of the allegory. So far as I am aware there is

[20] The Kentish version appended to the *Ayenbite of Inwit* has been edited by Richard Morris, *E.E.T.S.*, 23, pp. 262-270, and by Brandl and Zippel: "Custody of the Soul," *op. cit.*, pp. 237-242.

[21] *Loc. cit.* The comparison of the two English homilies with the Latin source can be very conveniently made from Brandl and Zippel's text, where the Latin allegory is printed along with the Kentish, *op. cit.*, 237-242.

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no evidence upon which to construct a new hypothesis: the only source we now know for *Sawles Warde* is *De anima,* Book IV, Chapters XIII-XV.

A highly interesting and somewhat elaborate allegory combining the castle of the body with the soul's ward theme, is the Castle of Kynde in *Piers Plowman.* It is described and interpreted in A, Passus X, 1 ff., and in B, Passus IX, 1 ff. The fashioning of the castle by Kynde is also explained in C, Passus XI, 127 ff., but the exact interpretation of Castle Caro as a man with a soul is absent from the C-text. The Castle of Kynde is the abode of Sire Dowel. It is made of four things: earth, air, wind, and water. Kynde has placed in the castle a lemman that he loves as himself: Lady Anima. Envy hates the lovely lady, and a proud pricker of France, *princeps hujus mundi,* would ever win her away if he might. But Kynde knows this and so he always endeavors to keep her the better. To this end he has established her in Sire Dowel's stronghold. Dobet, the daughter of Sire Dowel, is Lady Anima's "damoisele" to serve her both early and late. Dobest is above them both, a bishop's peer; Anima is led by his learning. The constable of this castle is a wise knight called Sir Inwitte. He has five fair sons by his first wife: Sire Sewel and Saywel and Herewel the hende, Sire Worche-wel-wyth-thine-hande, a very strong man, and Sire Godfrey Gowel. These five are set to save the Lady Anima until Kynde shall come or send to save her forever.

The dreamer inquires who Kynde is. Kynde, Wit tells him, is the creator of all that has ever been created; he is God. He has made man most like himself. In Texts A and B, Wit continues the exposition to include the castle itself.

> And þat is the castel þat Kynde made · *caro* it hatte,
> And is as moche to mene · as man with a soule;
> And þat he wrouȝt with werke · and with worde bothe,
> Þorough myȝte of þe maieste · man was ymaked
> Inwit and alle wittes · closed ben þerinne,
> For loue of þe lady *anima* · þat lyf is ynempned;
> Ouer al in mannes body · he walketh and wandreth,
> Ac in þe herte is hir home · and hir moste reste.
> Ac Inwitte is in þe hed · and to the herte he loketh,
> What *anima* is lief or loth · he lat hir at his wille;
> For after grace of god · þe grettest is Inwitte.[22]

[22] Text B, IX, 48 ff.

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For naming Anima "life" the poet had patristic authority. Saint Augustine wrote, in his commentaries upon the Psalms ". . . quod est utique vita quaedam, qua vivimus, quae anima dicitur . . ."; in *Locutiones in Heptateuchum,* with reference to Genesis, XXXVII, 22, *"Non feriamus eum in animam:* hoc loco nomine animae vitam corporis animati significat, per efficientem id quod efficitur."[23] In Alcuin's *De animae ratione liber ad Eulaliam virginem,* one reads "Sicut corporis vita anima est, ita animae vita Deus est."[24]

Sire Inwit, from the A-text appears not to be Conscience, as Skeat calls him, but rather Intellect,

> Inwit in þe hed is · and helpeth þe soule,
> For þorw his connynge he [kepeþ] · Caro et Anima
> In Rule and in Reson · bote Recheles hit make.
> He eggeþ þe [eiȝe siht · and herynge] to goode,
> Of good speche and of cunnynge · he is þe biginnere,
> In Monnes Brayn he is most · and mihtiest to knowe,
> Þer he is Bremest · But ȝif blod hit make.[25]

The five wardens present something of a puzzle. As Skeat pointed out, and as is obvious enough, they are not the five senses, though from the names of Sewel and Herewel, it seems that the pattern of the five senses was in the poet's mind. It is noteworthy that very little of the allegory in *Piers Plowman* conforms to the conventional types. In the B-text the writer perhaps offers a clue to his own method of work when he says that he could multiply detail from the teachings of the "foure doctours," but implies that he has not chosen to do so:

> Of þis matere I myȝte · make a longe tale
> And fynde fele witnesses · amonges þe foure doctours.[26]

So far as I am aware, no extended passage of the poem has been traced to a single definite source.[27] Langland evidently knew the

[23] For the first quotation, see *P.L.,* XXXVII, col. 1776; for the second, see *P.L.,* XXXIV, col. 496. Compare also cols. 230, 540, 704, 711, 1291, of the latter volume.

[24] *P.L.,* CI, col. 643.

[25] A-text, Passus X, 49-55, *E.E.T.S.,* 28. Professor Manly thinks that "Inwit" here means "Discretion." See *The Cambridge History of English Literature,* Vol. II, p. 22.

[26] B-text, Passus IX, 71-72.

[27] It is altogether possible, I think, that further researches in patristic literature may reveal sources as yet undiscovered for much that is in *Piers*

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tenets of the "doctours," the theology, and consequently the allegory of the time, but he appears to have shaped the traditional material to his own purposes. To a practical mind it is at once clear that only two of the five senses are of much use as guardians of the soul: namely, seeing and hearing. For Langland,[28] who was preaching a doctrine of works as well as of faith, good speech, industry, and a straightforward course in religion[29] were wardens in keeping with his conception of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest. However the "wardens" are to be interpreted, the *Piers Plowman* "castel" has the same basic theme as the *De anima* allegory. I question, however, whether the author of *Piers Plowman* had read the Victorine tract, since he does not make use of the most dramatic features of the allegory.

In the moralities attached to the English translation of the Anglo-Latin *Gesta Romanorum* are several allegorical castles. One is of interest at this point as illustrating the keeping of the soul by a steward, Man, a master of the knights, Reason, and the five knights, the five senses. The emperor of Rome, who is to be understood as Christ, goes on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The steward left in charge proves unworthy: the knight's daughter, the Soul, he drives forth to beg her bread from door to door; the master of the knights, Reason, he kills; the knights he sends away. He cherishes his master's greyhound, the Flesh, but that escapes him finally and runs at large. The steward repents, however, and is bidden by the Emperor to bring back the daughter and the knights, and to re-establish them; to recover the greyhound but to feed it so meagerly that it shall no more break forth.[30]

Plowman. Compare, for example, the poet's rendering of a passage from Isidore of Seville on the different terms used for *Anima* (*Liberum Arbitrium* in the C-text) B, XV, 23 ff. It is only fair to observe, however, that "Austyn and Isidor" are mentioned as the sources of this passage and that the Latin is given. It may be that every case of conscious direct borrowing is so indicated.

[28] Any consideration of the vexed question of authorship is of course entirely without the province of this study. For the sake of convenience, I shall assume, without further comment, the correctness of the traditional view.

[29] My interpretation of Sir Godfrey Gowell, who in the C-text is called Sir God-faith Gowell. As to why the five wardens are the sons of Inwit's first wife, or who the first wife was, I have no suggestion.

[30] *The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, edited by Sidney J. H. Herrtage, *E.E.T.S., E.S.*, XXXIII, No. XXXVI. Other castle allegories occur in Nos. XVI, LVII, LIX, LXII, LXIX, from *Harl.* 7333.

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Thus we see religious allegories of essentially the same theme springing from several different sources. The question arises whether there be any interrelations within the group. Klaeber, calling attention to a note by Holthausen, shows the probability that the "sawele hyrde" of the *Beowulf* passage is to be understood as "man's wit," a conception similar to that in the Middle English *Sawles Warde,* but there is no suggestion, of course, that the author of *Sawles Warde* knew *Beowulf.* The late Professor C. L. Powell saw a very considerable parallelism, in the details as well as in general idea, between *Sawles Warde* and the Castle Caro passage in *Piers Plowman.* He found the chief of these details to be the following: "the various inhabitants of the two houses, particularly Wit and Inwit; the opponents without, led in each case by the devil; the governing power of the house, invested in Intelligence, and the distress of the body, or home, when this power is absent, and the soul, in *Sawles Warde* represented as a treasure and in the Vita personified into the form of a woman, which is made the greatest object of value to be guarded by hostile forces."[31] Professor Powell thought also that Dobet might be "likened to, if not identified with 'ure lauerd' of *Sawles Warde.*" "The fact that Dobet and Dobest are his daughters," wrote Professor Powell, "assisting Anima, just as Worship, Strength, Temperance, and Righteousness are the daughters of 'ure lauerd' contributes to make the two appear identical."[32] Mr. Powell noted, but regarded as comparatively insignificant the appearance of the five wits in both poems. He remarked further the common absence of parallel "between the features of the body and the physical attributes of the castles," and found in the *Vita* certain phrases that seemed "to echo those of the earlier poem," but considered these verbal similarities insufficient as grounds for argument.

To me it does not seem that either any one of the parallel features pointed out or the body of them together affords evidence of a real connection between *Sawles Warde* and *Piers Plowman.* It is true that the *Piers Plowman* poet was not the man to take over detail for detail another writer's allegory, but it does look as if, had he set out to use any of the *Sawles Warde,* he would probably have selected the more important and dramatic part of it: the coming of the mes-

[31] "The Castle of the Body", *Studies in Philology* (North Carolina) XVI (1919), p. 202.
[32] *Ibid.,* 203.

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sengers and their dialogues with the daughters of "ure lauerd." "Ure lauerd," furthermore, is surely not to be identified with Dobet, but rather with God. Were there strong evidence on the other side, these objections would be of little weight, but as it is, the parallelism is of a very general nature. Professor Powell put forth his theory only as an hypothesis, and as such it is certainly very interesting. I believe, however, that the chief likeness between the two allegories lies in the vigorous, apparently original, treatment of traditional matter.

The only early instance of the soul's ward theme that I know in secular English literature is that in *King Hart,* a poem written by Gavin Douglas at the end of the fifteenth century or in the early years of the sixteenth.[33] This poem, indeed, presents an allegory of human life: King Hart with his attendants is well established in a comely castle. He is by no means left to his own resources, for Nature has engaged folk to govern and guide him:

> First [war thair] Strenth, [and Rage] and Wantownnes,
> Grein Lust, Disport, Jelosy, and Invy;
> Freschnes, New Gate, Waist-gude, and Wilfulnes,
> Delyuernes, Fulehardenes thairby;
> Gentrice, Fredome, Petie-previe I espy,
> Want-wyt, Vanegloir, Prodigalite,
> Unrest, Nicht-walk, and felon Glutony,
> Unricht, Dyme sicht, with Slicht, and Subtiltie.

These were the busy (ythand) servitors who were governors to this noble king; for the term of their service nothing on earth could draw them from his dwelling.

> Thus to thair terme thai serve for thair rewarde:
> Dansing, disport, singing, revelling,
> With Bissines all blyth to pleis the lairde.

The King had five servitors without, the five senses:

> Fyve Seruitouris this King he had without,
> That teichit war ay tressoun to espy.
> Thai watchit ay the wallis round about,

[33] *The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas,* Bishop of Dunkeld, edited by John Small, Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1874). The passages quoted below appear on pp. 86 and 87. See the "Account of the writings of Bishop Gavin Douglas", in the Introduction to this edition of his works, I, p. cxxxix. The opinion there expressed as to the date of the poem is that it was written between 1501 and 1512. A summary of the poem is given, pp. cxxxix-cxlii. Compare also T. F. Henderson, *Scottish Vernacular Literature,* pp. 197 ff.

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Fo[r] innemeis that of hapning ay come by.
Ane for the day, quhilk jugeit certanly,
With cure to ken the colour of all hew,
Ane for the nicht, that harknit bissely
Out of quhat airt that ever the wyndis blew.

Syne wes thair ane to taist all nutriment
That to this King wes servit at the deiss
Ane wther wes [of] all fovellis for sent,
Of licour, or of any lustie meiss:
The fyft thair wes quilk culd all [ken] but leiss,
The heit, the cauld, the harde, and eik the soft;
Ane ganand servand bayth for weir and peice,
3it hes thir folk thair king betrasit oft.

The course of the poem is well given in Small's résumé. Suffice it to say here that the King is captured by Dame Plesance, whose castle is close by his; that he, in turn, becomes lord of Dame Plesance and her castle; that he and his lady live in much joy for seven years. Then Age comes knocking at the gate, and forces an entry. Youth and his companions leave the king. Soon Conscience and others come. After a while Dame Plesance departs. Wisdom persuades the king to return to his own castle. There he remains until Decrepitude lays siege to the castle and fatally wounds the king. The poem concludes with the king's testament.

Small suggests in his introduction that although *King Hart* is quite original in its execution, it embodies some ideas showing Douglas to have been familiar with *Piers Plowman,* "the famous poem of John [!] Langland, written more than a century before. In *Passus* ix of that poem, Lady Anima is enclosed in a castle, with Do-well, Do-bet, and Do-best as her keepers. Inwit or Conscience is the seneschal of the castle, whose sons, corresponding to the five senses of Douglas are appointed to guard Lady Anima—Work-well and Go-well, See-well, Say-well, and Hear-well. The castle is afterwards explained as Caro, or the body; Lady Anima as life, dwelling in the heart of man. Various other allegorical characters, similar to those mentioned in *King Hart,* are to be found in the twenty divisions of Langland's long poem."[34]

As may be seen, however, from the discussion of other allegories of this type, the author need not have read *Piers Plowman,* although it is altogether probable that he had done so. In the distinction

[34] See pp. cxlii-cxliii.

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between the servitors without and within, the five senses being without, there is a closer kinship with *Sawles Warde* and its Latin source than with *Piers Plowman.* It is interesting to see that, although in this poem conventions of the earlier religious allegory have been combined with court-of-love ideas, the theme is really much the same as in *The Castell of Perseverance*: the salvation of man's soul.

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IV

THE BLESSED VIRGIN AS A CASTLE

THE most complete and distinctive allegory of the castle is that in which the Blessed Virgin is represented as a "castle of love and grace." As early as the fourth century, the Archbishop Athanasius of Alexandria spoke of a divine temple as having been erected in the Virgin: "Nam cum ipse potens et rerum omnium sit effector, sibi in Virgine templum, corpus scilicet, exstruxit, illudque tanquam instrumentum sibi proprium fecit, in quo se notum faceret et habitaret: . . . ."[1] In a sermon doubtfully attributed to Saint Hildefonsus of Toledo (seventh century) and in a sermon of Saint Bernard's (twelfth century), the allegory of the House of Wisdom is applied to the Virgin.[2] Throughout the Middle Ages the Blessed Virgin was frequently compared to the ark, to the tabernacle, to the enclosed garden. So far as I have discovered, however, the figure of the castle was not used with reference to the Virgin until the ninth century. The developed form of the allegory seems not to have appeared before the twelfth century.

The earliest instance of its use that I have found is that appearing in a compendium of allegories made by Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856): "*Castellum* est Virgo Maria, ut in Evangelio, 'Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum', quod Christus in singularis virginis venit uterum."[3] Even here one must face the possibility of interpolation, for the only available text is that of Migne's edition, which, in turn, is based upon the printed text of the Cologne edition of Hrabanus (cir. 1627). If this text be correct, however, it is likely that the allegory antedates Hrabanus, for, by his own statement, the learned archbishop of Mainz set out to compile, not to invent, a body of allegorical interpretations.[4]

As will be seen from the preceding quotation, the source of this

[1] *P.G.*, XXV, 110.

[2] *P.L.*, XCVI, 257, and *P.L.*, CLXXXIII, 674. The subject of Saint Bernard's sermon is "De domo divinae Sapientiae, id est Virgine Maria". For this reference, I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown.

[3] *Allegoriae in universam sacram Scripturam*, *P.L.*, CXII, 885.

[4] *P.L.*, CXII, 851. Compare A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte* II (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 650-651. Dr. Hauck expresses the opinion that the versions of the allegories forming the basis of Migne's text had been edited.

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allegory is to be found in Luke X, 38, where the words: "Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum" are used in a sense totally foreign to the life or experience of the Virgin Mary. *Castellum* (Greek κώμη) there simply means village, in this case, the village of Bethany. In the King James version this verse is translated: "Now it came to pass, as they went, that he entered into a certain village: and a certain woman named Martha received him into her house." As has been seen, however, the word *castellum* was the diminutive of *castrum,* so that for the word, *village* or *town* is the secondary rather than the primary sense. That the allegorist should give *castellum* in this passage the meaning of *fortress,* or even of the mediaeval *castle,* is not extraordinary. Furthermore, to any student of the Middle Ages, the prevalence of a fourfold interpretation of the Scriptures is well known. As Hrabanus Maurus wrote, "Quisquis ad sacrae Scripturae notitiam desiderat pervenire, prius diligenter consideret quando historice, quando allegorice, quando anagogice, quando tropologice suam narrationem contexat."[5]

It is by no means surprising, then, that patristic ingenuity should have drawn out even so plain a statement as this into the labyrinthine courses of allegory. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that a mere narrative detail having to do with the Mary who in the Middle Ages was identified with the sinful Magdalene should have developed into an allegory of the immaculate Virgin.

The Scriptural text "Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum" seems to have been turned to the honor of the Virgin as early as the eighth century. In Alcuin's *Liber sacramentorum,* under "Sabbato missa de sancta Maria," one reads, "Sequentia sancti Evangelii secundum Lucam. In illo tempore, intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum" . . . . .[6] Even earlier may be a sermon once ascribed to Hildefonsus of Toledo (seventh century):

De Assumptione Beatae Mariae: Quintus.

In illo tempore. Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum, et mulier quaedam Martha nomine excepit illum in domum suam. Et reliqua. (*Luc.* X)

Hom. Hildef. de eadem lectione.[7]

The famous homiliarium compiled, presumably, by Paul the Deacon

[5] *Allegoriae in universam sacram Scripturam, P.L.,* CXII, 849.
[6] *P.L.,* CI, 455-456.
[7] *P.L.,* XCVI, 259 ff. In *Ad S. Hildefonsi opera appendices.* Sermo V. Compare also E. Bishop's *Historica Liturgica,* Oxford 1918, p. 178.

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at the command of Charlemagne near the end of the eighth century appears to have contained, for the Feast of the Assumption, the lection Luke X, 38-42, and, in elucidation of these verses, a homily, then ascribed to Bede. Dom G. Morin has suggested, it is true, that the original collection may have comprised no reading or homily for the Assumption. "Dans les deux mss. de Paris, 11699 et 12404," he writes, "l'un et l'autre du X[e] siècle, il n'est pas même fait mention de la fête de l'Assomption. Une telle omission, à une date aussi tardive, ne peut s'expliquer que par ce fait, que les copistes auront respecté à cet endroit l'ordre primitif du recueil."[8] But MS Augiensis XIX (formerly owned by the famous Benedictine monastery at Reichenau, and now in the Badische Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe), dated by A. Holder as of the ninth century,[9] has for the Feast of the Assumption the lection from Luke X and as an accompanying homily, "Omelia lectionis eiusdem venerabilis Bedae presbyteri."[10] Dom Morin has described this homily as an adaptation of Bede's commentary on Luke X, 38-42.[11] The first part of it may well be such an adaptation. The passage from Bede's genuine exegesis, however, is virtually the same as a homily on the Assumption attributed to Bede but supposedly spurious.[12] The latter part of the homily in Augiensis XIX, beginning with a paragraph on the As-

[8] "Les Sources non identifiées de l'Homéliaire de Paul Diacre". *Revue Bénédictine,* XV, (1898), 400-403. See p. 402.

[9] See A. Holder's catalogue of the Reichenau Manuscripts with Professor K. Preisendanz's addition of Part II to Volume III. This invaluable work is in three volumes: *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* (1906-1918). These volumes have independent numbering, but they are Vols. V-VII of *Die Handschriften der Gr. Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe.* See especially *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* I: "Die Pergament-handschriften" (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 69 ff. For some helpful suggestions concerning the Reichenau manuscripts, I am indebted to the kindness of Dom Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B.

[10] Fortunately, it is now possible to see in this country a photographic reproduction of this MS. The M.L.A. Committee on the Selection of Rotographs, under the chairmanship of Prof. W. L. Bullock, has secured for the M.L.A. deposit in the Library of Congress rotographs of this MS, of its companion volume, Augiensis XXIX, and of two important early Munich MSS of Paul the Deacon's Homiliarium, Monacensis 4533 and 4534. Augiensis XIX is catalogued as MS 121 of the M.L.A. Series. The lection and homily under consideration appear on folios 7[b]-8[b].

[11] See the article cited above. The passage in Bede's *Expositio in Lucam* occurs in *P.L.,* XCII, 470-472.

[12] *P.L.,* XCIV: *Homiliae subdititiae* LVII: "In die assumptionis Mariae". See cols. 420-421.

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sumption, is not to be found either in Bede's genuine exposition of Luke X, 38, or in the spurious homily. The genuine homilies of Bede, as we have them, contain no discourse on the Assumption of the Virgin, though there is one on the Annunciation, one on the Visitation, and one on the Purification. The compiler of the homiliarium, then, may have added to the passage from Bede a "sermon" of his own beginning with a paragraph making it directly applicable to the celebration of the Assumption, or he may have had a homily on the Assumption labelled as Bede's. There are in the collection a number of homilies ascribed to Bede. But it is very unlikely that the homily in question was written by Bede for the Assumption. It is not even certain that this homily formed a part of the original homiliarium of Paul the Deacon. But if Augiensis XIX is correctly dated as of the mid-ninth[13] century, the discourse for the Assumption, if not of the original compilation, must have been added very soon after the homiliarium was made. A part of it appears in an early Benediktbeuern manuscript now in Munich (Monac. 4534). According to F. Wiegand's statement, this Munich manuscript and its companion volume, Monacensis 4533, although about a century later than the Reichenau codices, offer an almost faultless representation of Paul the Deacon's original homiliarium. "In dem Munchener Codex besitzen wir definitiv das echte Homiliarium."[14]

Since the two Reichenau volumes, Augiensis XIX and XXIX are believed to be the most ancient extant representatives of the original homiliarium, and since they are thought to be of the ninth century, their testimony, especially when sustained by that of the Munich manuscript, may well be accepted. In any case if the dating be correct, the Reichenau manuscript affords a proof of an early connection between the "castellum" lection and the Feast of the Assumption. Were the passage from Bede actually a discourse for this Feast, it would of course be a much earlier witness, but in its origin it seems to have had no connection with the Assumption. It may have been selected for the homiliarium on account of its interpretation of Martha and Mary as figures of the two lives: the active and the contemplative. There is, however, a homily generally

[13] See Holder's Catalogue, I, 146.

[14] "Das Homiliarium Karls des Grosses auf seine ursprüngliche Gestalt . . . .", *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche* I[3] (1897), pp. 3-4.

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ascribed to Paul the Deacon himself developed from this text in celebration of the Assumption.[15] From an early date Luke X, 38-42, was used as one of the readings in the Mass of the Assumption. In the Bobbio Missal, a Gallican mass book, dated by modern liturgical scholars as of the eighth century, the "intravit" passage is one of the lections for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.[16]

In the sermon above cited as from the spurious works of St. Hildefonsus, occurs the following explanation of the use of the lection Luke X, 38-42, in commemoration of the Assumption of the Virgin:

> Congrue satis et convenienter videtur a Patribus fuisse sancitum [*sic*] ut in memoria Dei genitricis recitetur evangelica lectio, quae narrat illas duas mente et carne sorores Dominum Jesum excepisse hospitio. Cui enim illa venienti in mundum templum praeparavit in virtute sacratum, et perpetuae virginitati dedicatum, huic istae, ut Evangelium loquitur, temporalis habitationis praeparaverunt hospitium, et piae humanitatis, ac sincerissimae charitatis praebuerunt obsequium. Harum enim vita et actus ita fuerunt mirabiles, et fidelium recordatione celebres, ut duarum vitarum figuram eas recte tenere asserant divinarum litterarum catholici et doctissimi viri. Martha igitur, quae curam domus gerebat, et tanto talique hospiti ea quae necessaria erant praeparabat, activae vitae figuram, ut diximus, praeferebat. Per Mariam vero, quae ad pedes Domini sedens instantissime sermonis ejus audiebat colloquia, vita perspicue praemonstratur contemplativa.[17]

Virtually the same theory is to be found later in Jean Beleth's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,* Cap. CXLVI, "De Assumptione beatae Mariae." "Postremo evangelium aliquando vero juxta historiam, ut in Circumcisione, aliquando vero juxta suam allegoriam,

[15] See *P.L.,* XCV, 1565 ff.; Durand's *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum moralium amplissima collectio, Tomus* IX, Paris, 1733, cols. 265 ff.; and *Bibliotheca Cassinensis seu codicum manuscriptorum qui in tabulario Cassinensi asserverantur* . . . . 1865, II, 394, 408, and in the same volume, in *Florilegium Cassinense,* pp. 52 ff. Felix Dahn considered the authorship of this homily as insufficiently attested. See *Paulus Diaconus,* 1876, p. 71.

[16] In the case of this ancient service book, one is treading on sure ground, for the Bobbio Missal has been carefully studied, edited, and printed in facsimile in three volumes of the Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society: Vol. LI: *The Bobbio Missal: Facsimile* (London, 1917); Vol. LVIII: *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass Book* (MS Paris, Lat. 13246) Text, edited by E. A. Lowe (London, 1920); Vol. LXI: *The Bobbio Missal, Notes and Studies* by Dom André Wilmart, E. A. Lowe, and H. A. Wilson (London, 1924). See Vol. LI, fol. 60; Vol. LVIII, pp. 39-41; Vol. LXI, p. 20.

[17] *P.L.,* XCVI, 259. Cp. P. Guéranger: *L'Année liturgique,* XIII, Paris, 1900.

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quemadmodum hoc est quod in Assumptione Mariae virginis de Maria Magdalena ac Martha legitur. Quod ergo hic istiusmodi legatur evangelium, indicat utramque vitam, et contemplativam et activam in una Maria virgine fuisse. Ipsa enim fuit Magdalena, hoc est quæ circa vitam contemplativam versabatur. Ipsa fuit Martha, id est quæ circa activam vitam tota etiam fuit occupata, quemadmodum ex multis locis liquido probari potest."[18]

These expositions gain force from the fact that the interpretation of Mary and Martha as representing, respectively, the contemplative and the active life can be traced back certainly to the time of Saint Augustine (387-430),[19] and that many of the homilies from the "intravit" text embody it. It is true that such homilies, both early and late, often expound the allegory of the two lives, without making any use of the castle figure. In the discourse of Paul the Deacon previously mentioned such is the case. Hrabanus, the earliest discovered recounter of the allegory, does not use it in his homilies for the Assumption. But one of these homilies is included among the doubtful works of Bede. It may be that Hrabanus was not the author of any of the homilies under consideration. It is interesting to note that Haymo, a contemporary and friend of Hrabanus, and for a time a fellow pupil of Alcuin's, uses, in a homily on the Assumption, the "intravit" text, and an allegory of the castle, but that he interprets the castle as the world.[20]

The *intravit* text with its mystical interpretation seems to have been most used in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. About the year 1100 it is developed thus in a homily by Radulphus Ardens:

. . . . Mystice vero castellum in quo Dominus intravit, uterus est beatae Virginis. Quod bene congruit ei et nomine et significatione. Nomine, quoniam castellum sive castrum dicitur a castrando, eo quod propter vigilias et laborem armorum omnis libido eliminetur a castro. Ab utero quoque beatae Virginis omnis libido propter labores et honestas exercitationes exclusa fuit. Significatione, quoniam castellum dicitur quod est muris et propugnaculis circumvallatum, custodibus munitum, necessariis repletum. Castrum quoque beatae Virginis fuit propugnaculis vallatum, ut abstinentia contra ingluviem, castitate contra luxuriam, munificentia contra avaritiam, patientia contra iram, humilitate contra superbiam. Unde in Canticis canticorum: "Hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa,

[18] *P.L.*, CCII, 149.
[19] *P.L.*, XXXVIII, 617-618.
[20] *Haymonis Halberstatensis Episcopi Operum omnium pars secunda . . . . Homiliae de Sanctis*, VI, *P.L.*, CXVIII, 768.

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hortus conclusus, fons signatus" (*Cant.* IV). Item: "Collum tuum sicut turris David, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis. Mille clypei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium" (*Ibid.*). Fuit enim beata Virgo collum, per quod exiit ad nos Verbum Dei. Fuit etiam custodibus munitum, utpote quam Gabriel caeterique angeli, et sancti homines, ut Joseph et Joannes evangelista, ut Dei templum, sanctissime custodierunt. Fuit et necessariis repletum, utpote in qua fecit sibi cellarium panis vitae et aqua sapientiae. Fuit igitur beata Virgo castellum, et quoddam, id est singulare, quia, quamvis caeterae virgines possint esse mundae et castae, tamen nulla potest esse similis, et Virgo et Mater. Quod et si concedamus posse fieri, nulla tamen alia potest esse mater Filii Dei. Qui sicut est unico Patri, ita est unicus unicae matri. In hoc igitur castissimum castellum intravit Jesus. Porta vero per quam intravit, fides est. Quia enim credidit, perfecta sunt ei omnia quae dicta sunt ei a Domino. Nec intrans Jesus hoc castellum violavit; Jesus enim salvat, non violat. Secundum nomen ejus, ita et opus ejus.[21]

It is interesting to note that here at the beginning of the twelfth century is rather an elaborate form of the castle allegory. In a homily that may be even earlier, a discourse supposedly by Anselm of Canterbury, we find the tower and wall essential to the castle. "Castellum enim dicitur quaelibet turris, et murus in circuitu ejus. Quae duo sese invicem defendunt, ita ut hostes per murum ab arce, et a muro per arcem arceantur. Hujusmodi castello non incongrue Virgo Maria assimilatur, quam virginitas mentis et corporis, quasi murus, ita undique vallavit, ut nullus unquam libidini ad eam esset accessurus, nec sensus ejus aliqua corrumperentur illecebra. Et quia virginitatem, cum libido non possit, solet impugnare superbia, est in eadem virgine turris humilitatis, quæ a muro virginitatis omnem repellit superbiam."[22]

Another interesting homiletic development of the "intravit" text is to be found in the writings of the Venerable Godfrey, Abbot of Admont:

Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum. Castellum ubi pro tuitione construitur, munitione muri per circuitum undique cingitur, et, turre in medio eminente, ipsa muri constructio desuper protegitur, ut vicissim et a turre murus defendatur, et a muro turris muniatur. Hujus ergo castelli nomine intemerata beatae Mariae virginitas convenienter figuratur, cujus et vita sub magisterio sancti Spiritus constituta, tota continentiae munitione mirabiliter roboratur, et ipsa incomparabili et inexpugnabili humilitatis

[21] *Homiliae* I. De tempore: XXXI, In eodem festo Assumptionis Beatae Mariae. *P.L.*, CLV, 1428-1429.

[22] *Homiliae et exhortationes, P.L.*, CLVIII, 645.

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arce contra omnia diabolicae suggestionis jacula humiliter defensatur. *In* hoc ergo *castellum Jesus intravit,* cum ille Filius Dei Rex angelorum, Creator coelorum, beatissimae virginis Mariae incomparabili simul castitate et humilitate delectatus, palatium uteri ejus visitavit, et instar solis fenestram vitream radio suo perstringentis nec disrumpentis, virginitatem ipsius fecundavit, non violavit, eamque suo introitu et exitu mirabiliter decoravit, glorificavit et sublimavit.[23]

A similar use of the allegory appears in Honorius of Autun's *Speculum Ecclesiae:* De Assumptione S. Mariae .... "Nunc circumdant eam flores rosarum et lilia convallium quia rubedo martirum, albedo virginum dulci melo jubilat ejus perenne praeconium; et merito: nam ipse Deus transiens fecerat sibi in ea hospicium, sicut hodie retulit evangelium: *Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum* (*Luc.* X). In castello est turris alta in qua contra hostes sunt propugnacula, murus vero exterius qui est tutela civibus interius. Hoc castellum fuit illud Spiritus sancti sacellum, scilicet gloriosa Dei Genitrix virgo Maria, quia jugi angelorum custodia fuit undique munita; in qua turris alta erat, videlicet humilitas pertingens ad coeli culmina; unde dicitur: *Respexit Dominus humilitatem ancillae suae* (*Luc.* I). Murus vero exterius ejus castitas fuit quae caeteris virtutibus interius munimen praebuit. Hoc castellum Dominus intravit quando in utero Virginis humanam naturam sibi copulavit."[24]

All the passages quoted thus far, with the possible exception of that from Jean Beleth, are from the twelfth century, or earlier. The early homilists prepared the ground well for the more literary treatment accorded the allegory by Bishop Grosseteste about 1230.[25] The culmination of this allegory of the castle as the Virgin is to found in the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem, *Le Château d'Amour,* ascribed to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. This is represented in Middle English by at least three versions, all of which have been published. Still a fourth version of the first 440 lines

[23] *P.L.,* CLXXIV, 964 ff.

[24] *P.L.,* CLXXII, 991 ff.

[25] The date assigned by Miss J. Murray in the Introduction (p. 64) to her edition of the Anglo-Norman poem: *Le Château d'Amour de Robert Grosseteste,* Paris, 1918. In her discussion of sources, Miss Murray designates the "intravit" text, which, indeed, appears in the Latin prologue to the poem, as the ultimate source of the allegory, and notes the fact that the conception of the Virgin as a castle was by no means new when Grosseteste wrote; but of the earlier writers she mentions only Saint Bernard and Hugo of Saint Victor as having used it. She points out also that a contemporary influence may have come from ll. 923-929 of *Le Besant de Dieu* by Guillaume le Clerc.

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(220 short couplets) exists, but since it does not contain the allegory of the castle, it need not be considered.[26]

A comparison of the different versions of this poem is not within the province of this study. Suffice it to say that although there is some variation in the naming of the parts of the castle, the allegory is essentially the same in the different forms of the poem. Excellent résumés and bibliographies are given by Wells and by ~~Miss~~ J. Murray in her edition of the Anglo-Norman *Château.*[27]

The poem is an allegorical account of the creation of the world, the fall of man, and the redemption of the human race. The story of the castle forms only a part of the whole, but it is in itself a well rounded allegory.[28] In order to save man Christ has offered to descend to earth and atone for Adam's sin. But it is unsuitable that his abode in the period needed for taking on human nature should be other than a fair one. He selects, therefore, a goodly castle, set on a firm rock, defended by four towers, three baileys, and seven barbicans, and provided with a fountain whence flow four streams which fill the ditches about the walls. In the castle is a throne above which is a rainbow. Here Christ will abide, and here mankind may find protection against his enemies. The castle is the body of the Virgin Mary. The high, firm rock is her pure heart; the towers are the cardinal virtues; the baileys, virginity, chastity, and holy wedlock; the barbicans are the seven virtues. The four streams from the fountain are well springs of grace. The foundation of the castle is of green to symbolize the faith of the Virgin; the middle part is blue, representing hope; the upper part is red to

[26] For bibliographical details, see Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse,* II, Nos. 1016, 2092, 2637, and J. E. Wells's *Manual of the Writings in Middle English,* pp. 366-368, and 820.

[27] *Le Château d'Amour de Robert Grosseteste,* Paris, 1918, pp. 64-66. The comparison, moreover, has been made by Fr. Haase in *Die englischen Bearbeitungen von Grossetestes Château d'Amour verglichen mit der Quelle,* Halle, 1889, and in *Anglia,* XII, 3.

[28] In the Anglo-Norman poem, as edited by Miss Murray, it occupies about 256 lines, ll. 567-824; in the English version said by Wells to be the oldest, that of the Vernon MS and of the British Museum Additional MS 22283, as edited by C. Horstmann (*E.E.T.S.,* 98), ll. 663-911; in the version edited and printed by Halliwell in 1849, pp. 29-39; in the Sawley monk's version (published in the Appendix, *E.E.T.S.,* 98), ll. 361-478. The last is a version of 1248 lines; the Vernon MS, 1524 lines; Halliwell's version according to the numbering given by Horstmann for the end of the poem (see the Appendix of his edition of the Vernon MS), 1820 lines; the Anglo-Norman poem, 1768 lines.

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represent charity and the ardent love of God. Within this castle is a throne, the soul of Mary. Christ issued from the castle leaving it inviolate. It has become a place of refuge for the soul of man, a stronghold against his three enemies, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. Charity is the constable of the castle.

Not merely the conception but several of the details find prototypes in the earlier allegories. In the passage quoted from Radulphus Ardens (cir. 1100) the castle has figurative walls and battlements *(propugnaculis);* Anselm of Canterbury mentions the wall of virginity and the tower of humility; Godfrey Admontensis, names the wall and the tower. Godfrey, furthermore, thinks of the castle not merely as a fortress but also as a palace: i.e., he has a more distinctly feudal idea of it than have any of the other writers quoted. He describes also the manner in which Christ entered and departed in such a way as not to violate but rather to decorate and glorify the castle. But even when these comparisons are made, one sees that Grosseteste has greatly particularized and elaborated the allegory: the theme is the same but it is presented in his work with more detail than in any of the allegories prior to the *Château d'Amour.*

In addition to the English versions of *Le Château d'Amour,* there are other uses in early English literature of the allegory representing the Virgin as a Castle. One of these occurs in the *Cursor Mundi* (cir. 1320). As Dr. Hugo Haenisch pointed out in his *Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi,* the source of the castle allegory appearing in the *Cursor* (ll. 9877-10,094) is to be found in Grosseteste's poem. Haenisch has conveniently summed up in the following words the passage from the *Cursor*: "A castle of help and comfort stands high on a rock, so polished that no weapon can touch it: it is enclosed by four stone walls and a deep ditch, fortified with battlements and barbicans, with gate and tower. Every fugitive can take refuge here. It is painted with three colours, the foundation green, the middle blue, the battlements red. A clear well, from which run four all-healing streams, springs from the tower. Within that tower is a throne, with the brilliant light of which the bright colours mingle. The castle is a shield against our enemies. The polished rock is Mary's heart, the green colour betokens her end, the blue is her love and truth, the red her holy charity. The four towers are the four cardinal virtues; the seven barbicans represent the seven other virtues which quell the seven sins. The well is

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Mary's mercy, which can never be exhausted, the brilliant throne is Christ, who made his seat in Mary's soul."[29]

In Mirk's *Festial,* a sermon on the Day of the Assumption offers an important homiletic example in English of the Castle of Love allegory. It is in part as follows:

Then, for holy chyrch makyþe melody þys day of þys holy lady and redyþ and syngyth bysyly of hur worschip, mony han meruayl qwhy þe gospell of þys day makyth no mencyon of hur, but only of too sustyrs, Martha and Mari, hur sustyr, and sayth þus: Ihesus entret ynto a castell, and a woman that was cald Martha þat toke hym ynto hur hows. Þe wheche had a sustyr þat was cald Maria þat sate at Cristys fote, and herd þe wordys þat come out of hys moþe. Then, for Martha was besy forto serue Crist and þos þat come wyth hym, scho stode and sayde to Crist: "Syr, say to my sustyr þat sco ryse and helpe me!" Then Cryst vnsward and sayd: "Martha, Martha, þou art besy and art trowbult about mony thyngus, whyll that on ys necessary: Mary hath chosyn þe best part þat schall not be takyn from hur." Thes byn þe wordes of the gospell of þys day, and here ys no mencyon of our lady byseming to mony mennys undyrstandyng.

But þay þat wyll rede þat Seynt Ancelme sayþe þerof, þay schull se well þat þys gospell partaynyth all to our lady and to þe lyfyng of hur. Scho was þe castell þat Ihesu entred into; for ryght as a castell hath dyuerse propyrtyes þat longyth to a castell þat schall be byge and strong, ryght so had our lady dyuerse vertues þat made hur abolle befor all woymen forto receyue Cryst. For þeras woymen byn frele and febull, and eth to be ouercomyn, our lady was strong as a castell, and aȝeynestode þe saute of þe fyndes engynes; and put hym of at al. For ryght as a castell hath a depe dych yn strength of hyt, soo hath our lady a dyche of mekenes so depe down ynto þe erþe of hur hert, þat þer myght neuer no man go ouer hit. . . . Thys dych also yf hyt be full of watyr, hyt ys þe mor strengyr to þe castell; þys watyr ys compassyon þat a man haþe for hys owne gylt oþer for any oþer monnys deses. . . . . By þys bryge [the drawbridge of the castle] ȝe schull undyrstond discret obedyens. For ryght as a man shall not lette downe the bryge to his enmy, þagh he be bedyn, ryght so a man schall not do nothyng for no byddyng þat wyll lette yn the fende to his soule. But when he ys bedyn do þat ys spedeful to his sowle, þen schall he lette downe þe bryge of obediens, and þen þe sandyr, þe bettyr and þe buxom to hym.[30]

The source of this homily is easily found since Mirk himself mentions Saint Anselm. In the homily from Saint Anselm of Canterbury

[29] Breslau, 1884; see pp. 23 ff.

[30] *E.E.T.S., E.S.,* XCVI, pp. 228 ff.: "In die Assumpcionis Beatae Mariae sermo brevis."

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cited and in part quoted above, is the primary source.[31] To this may be added Jean Beleth's chapter on the Assumption.[32] The parallelism of expression is in one case very close. Mirk says: "Then for holy chyrch makythe melody thys day of thys holy lady, and redyth and syngyth bysyly of hur worship, mony han meruayl qwhy the gospell of thys day makyth no mencyon of hur, but only of too sustyrs, Martha and Mari". . . . . From Jean Beleth may be quoted the following: "Quaeritur autem quamobrem illo die cantetur evangelium de beata Maria et Martha?"[33] It is not unlikely, furthermore, that Grosseteste's version of the allegory influenced Mirk.

There can be no doubt that the allegory of the Virgin as the castle in which Christ was harbored is to be traced to the patristic interpretation of Luke X, 38: Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum. . . . . Virtually the same allegory, however, is used by Alanus de Insulis in elucidating the text "Ite in castellum quod contra vos est" (Matthew XXI, 2). In a sermon on the Annunciation the following passage occurs:

> Haec [Virgo] est castrum, seu castellum, de quo dictum est: *Ite in castellum quod contra vos est.* . . . . Cum enim Filius Dei vellet assumere trabeam humanitatis in tabernaculo Virginis, praecepit angelis ut eam custodirent ab omni illecebra carnis, dicens illis: *Ite ad castellum,* ite ad Virginem custodiendo, ite ad Virginem consulendo, ite ad Virginem comitando. Haec Virgo consequenter dicitur etiam castellum.[34]

Whether this interpretation contributed to the literary development of the allegory is difficult to say. I have discovered no evidence of its influence.

An interesting example of the Virgin as the Castle of Emaus occurs in a fourteenth-century lyric: "Marye, mayde mylde and free."

> Þou art emaus, þe ryche castel,
> Þar resteþ alle werye;
> Ine þe restede emanuel
> Of wan y-spekeþ ysaye.[35]

[31] See Note 22.
[32] *Supra,* Note 18.
[33] See references given above: Note 18 and Note 30.
[34] Migne, *P.L.,* CCX, 201-202.
[35] *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century,* edited by Carleton Brown, Oxford, 1924, p. 48. This poem is under the heading of "Miscellaneous Lyrics before 1350."

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V

THE CASTLE AND THE ABBEY

THE text "Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum" offered a starting point for more than one allegorical conceit. Ailred of Rievaulx, in a sermon on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, after pointing out that Jesus found the castle prepared for him, urges the "brothers" whom he is addressing to prepare a spiritual castle for the Lord. Three things, says Ailred, are especially necessary to make the castle strong: the moat, the wall, the tower. Those who would erect the spiritual castle should dig deep in their hearts and throw out before their eyes the soil of earthly weakness. Thus they may construct the moat of humility. Let them think from time to time of the Blessed Virgin, who had so well prepared her castle. After the moat has been made, the wall must be built. The wall of the spiritual castle is chastity. This wall, which the Blessed Virgin had in greater perfection than any one else, is very necessary for the spiritual life. The tower, charity, must be built higher than any other part of the castle, for charity is above all other virtues in the holy edifice. The moat of humility and the wall of chastity, essential as they are, are none the less inadequate for the protection of the castle. Whenever any one despises his brother, or judges him uncharitably, the enemy may come over the wall and slay his soul. Let the builders imitate the Virgin, then, in having a high tower of charity.[1]

Here in describing the "spirituale castellum," Ailred seems to have in mind the monastic life.[2] He addresses his hearers as "fratres," and in speaking of the tower of charity, he uses the following rather significant phrasing: "si tamen intus habet amarum animum erga praelatos et fratres suos, illud fossatum humilitatis non potest defendere eum ab hostibus suis." Himself a Cistercian who spent the greater part of his life in the monastery of Rievaulx, and who for the last twenty years of his life was abbot of that monastery, he

[1] *P.L.*, CXCV, 303-305.

[2] Professor F. M. Powicke has expressed the view that Ailred in this sermon was likening the monastic life to a castle. See his article, "Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer, Walter Daniel," *Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library*, VII (1921-1922), 458.

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probably hoped to see his own abbey the spiritual castle that he was depicting. Whether he was thinking of the individual monk or of the order as a whole makes little difference: if each individual should build for himself the spiritual castle, the brotherhood would be sufficiently well fortified.

The spiritual castle of Ailred brings to mind the spiritual abbey described in a treatise that has been attributed to Hugo of Saint Victor: *De claustro animae*.[3] The figurative abbey is expounded in much detail. The cloister of the soul is contemplation, where the soul is free to meditate upon divine things; the guest house is the sympathetic mind, in which Charity, Mirth, "Collatio," and Humility serve the weary pilgrim; the chapter house is in the secret chamber of the heart; the refectory is sacred meditation in which the inner man drinks of the wine of compunction, and feeds upon divers courses of exempla; the dormitory is tranquillity of mind; the oratory is pious devotion.

In Chapter I of the first book of *De claustro animae* occurs a passage on the preparing of the ground that offers a certain parallelism both with the digging of the moat in Ailred's allegory and with the laying of the foundations for the spiritual abbey in the later English piece, *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost*. "Incipientibus aedificare quaerendus est locus fundamenti, ne superpositi parietis congeries inclinet se ad ruinam. Solent enim ex hoc rationabiliter qui firmiter aedificare volunt, eversa et ejecta terra, super firmam petram licet nimio labore quaesitam, aedificii sui ponere fundamentum."[4] With this may be compared the following from *The Abbey*: "When þe place of þe conscience es wele clensed, then sall þe grownde be mad lange and depe."[5] Meekness is to make the ground deep through her lowliness; Poverty is to make it wide by casting out earthly lusts and worldly thoughts from the heart. It will be remembered that in Ailred's sermon "nostra terrena fragilitas" was to be dug out of the heart.

From the thirteenth century, at least, spiritual abbeys seem frequently to have been the subject of tracts, of sermons, or sometimes even of poems.[6] Mechthild of Magdeburg, a German nun of the

[3] *P.L.*, CLXXVI, 1019 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Quoted from G. G. Perry's edition, *E.E.T.S.*, 26, p. 51.
[6] See Miss Eileen Power's *Mediaeval English Nunneries* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 533. Gall Morel in "Vorrede und Einleitung" to his edition of Mechtild's

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latter thirteenth century, wrote in German a short poem in which the essential features of the allegorical abbey appear. Mechthild, with charming piety, asks of God whether it be his will that she write no more. The Lord himself then graciously appears to her bringing, as he explains, certain healing herbs wherewith the ill may be refreshed, the well strengthened, the dead awakened, the good sanctified. Afterward she sees a spiritual cloister built of virtues. In this convent the abbess is True Love; the chaplain, Divine Humility; the prioress, Divine Peace; the subprioress, Amiability; the chantress, Hope; the schoolmistress, Wisdom; the cellaress, an Abundance of Good Gifts; the chamberlain, Liberality; the mistress of the infirmary, Abundant Piety; the portress, Vigilance; the mistress of discipline, Saintly Custom; the provost, Divine Obedience.[7]

In mediaeval French writings are to be found tracts describing the cloister of the soul and "la sainte abbaie." In Royal MS 16 E xii (fourteenth century) occurs a piece usually called "Le cloistre espirituel." This seems to belong to the same family of allegories as the Latin *De claustro animae.* The different parts of the cloister, the officers of the convent, the kinds of food served in the refectory, the rules of living—all are expounded. The following passage will give an indication of the substance and style of this composition. "Cil mengier que nous auon devise sont gouste a la lecon & deuon sauoir quest refectouer de lecon a .iii. rieules ce sont .iii. ententions.

Offenbarungen (Regensburg, 1869), p. XVII, lists three German MSS containing versions of an allegory of a ghostly abbey. These prove to be of the fifteenth century. The numbers, according to the catalogue of the Munich German MSS are 509, 519, 831, and 835. To these may be added Cod. germ. 29. The MSS mentioned by Morel are to be found listed in *Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof und Staatsbibliothek zu Muenchen nach J. A. Schmellers Kurzeren Verzeichnis,* I, Munich, 1866. The one I am adding is described in *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis,* V[1], ... Munich, 1920. The pieces themselves are very short: 509, ff. 364-365; 831, ff. 52-56; 835, 94-104; Cod germ. 29, f. 77. No. 519 is said to the same as 509 to f. 370. No. 29 is of the fifteenth century.

[7]See Gall Morel's *Offenbarungen der Schwester Mechthild von Magdeburg oder das fliessende Licht der Gottheit,* Regensburg, 1869, pp. 249-251. A modernization is to be found in W. Schleussner's *Das Fliessende Licht der Gottheit nach einer neugefundenen Handschrift herausgegeben und uebersetzt,* (Mainz, 1929), pp. 35-37. A French translation is given in Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache's *Mechtilde de Magdeburg* (1207-1282); *Étude de psychologie religieuse* (Paris, 1926), pp. 337-338.

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cele de listoire est premiers. li secons est lalegorie. li tiers de la moralite. Et estendent les napes les uierges. les prophetes departent le pain. les apostres seruent du uin. les confesseurs seruent de la poree. les euangelistes seruent du poisson. les martyres donnent la saueur. Ces lisent a la table augustin gringoire yeroime & les autres sainz qui esponerent les escriptures. Apres la lecon ualent u parleeur qui senefie edification. Esprueue est tribulation. Job est li mestre des nouices. li eschaufœr est bone essample. qui eschaufe les proimes a bien fere. Ceste abaye ne doit pas estre sanz ostelerie qui senefie memoire de cuer. en qui doit li proime trouuer misericorde. oroison les pest, deuotion les abouire. compassion les uisite. pitie les couche. Curiosite les conuoie quant il se departent. Veritez les prie de reuenir souent. Apres toutes ces choses doit on monter en dortœr qui senefie pes."[8]

A group of pieces particularly interesting for their connection with *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* describe the holy abbey as founded in the conscience.[9] The one of these which seems to be most closely related to the English tract is a sermon "de labaye du saint esperit." The author begins with the statement that since many who would live "en religion" are unable to do so on account of poverty, or of marriage ties, or of some other hindrance, he will make a book showing that men or women who may not actually enter a religious order, may found in the conscience a spiritual abbey. First of all, the conscience must be purged. To perform the office of cleansing, the Holy Ghost shall send two damsels: Truth and the Love of Purity. Voluntary Poverty and Humility will make the foundations wide and deep. This religion must be founded on a goodly river: namely, the river of tears and of weeping. On such a river was the Magdalene founded. Obedience and Pity are to build the walls; Patience and Strength to place the pillars. The Book of Wisdom tells of a woman who builded a house and put therein seven columns.

[8] Royal MS 16E xii, ff. 148ᵃ-152ᵇ. The quoted passage appears on f. 150ᵃ⁻ᵇ.

[9] These French pieces are listed and their relation to *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* is discussed by Miss Hope E. Allen in her monograph: *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for his Biography* (New York and London, 1927), p. 335 ff. They are as follows: Royal MS 16 E xii, ff. 132-139ᵇ; Add. MS, 39843, ff. 2ᵃ-7ᵃ: Add. MS, 20697, ff. 29-32ᵇ; Douce MS, 365. Compare also P. Meyer, *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes français,* 1912, p. 45 ff.: "Notice du MS Royal 16 E xii du Museé Britannique."

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The cloister is rightly named, for it should be closed and well guarded.

Here the writer adopts direct address, and speaks definitely to a woman. "Fille se tu uueus estre religieuse tien toi close & garde ton cloistre. Clo tes yex de legierement regarder. clo tes orelles dautrui mal oyr. clo ta bouche de legierement parler & rire. clo ton cuer de toutes mauueuses pensees. Qui bien se garde et se tient en ces .iiii. choses close ele fera bien religieuse."

After this bit of admonition, the plan of the abbey is resumed. "Damoisele confession fera le chapitre car ele dist uerite. Damoisele predication fera le refecteur car ele pest les ames. Contemplation fera dorteur. Oroison fera la chapele qui doit estre haute par douce contemplation. . . . . Compassion fera lenfermerie. Deuotion le celier. Meditacion le guernier."

God the father founded the abbey; the Holy Ghost guards it; the Son ordained it and will visit it. Madame Charity is to be abbess and all must obey her. Wisdom will be prioress; Humility, subprioress.

At this point another monitory passage, apparently addressed to women, appears. "Or gardez comme ci a noble abaye & sainte religion ou il a si saintes si dignes si soufisanz personnes a garder labaye com est charite labeesse, la prieuse sapience la sousprieuse humilite & benoites soient teles nonnains. Benoites soient les ames qui bien garderont le commandement de charite, le conseil de sapience, lenseignement dumilite qui merront toute lor uie charitablement et sagement & humblement."

Then follows an illustration from the rule of Nebuchadnezzer, who placed over his realm three bailiffs. Happy the spiritual kingdom with these three ladies, namely, Charity, Wisdom, and Humility, as bailiffs.

Lady Discretion is to be treasurer; Oroison, chantress. The latter is to be aided by Jubilacion. Devotion is the cellaress guarding the wines, each of which has its allegorical significance. Penitence is to have charge of the kitchen. Temperance is to be mistress of the refectory. Sobriety shall read at the table from the lives of the fathers and shall sing to them of the life they shall lead and of the way in which they may take example from the lives of the saints. Pity shall be a pittancer and her sister Mercy almoner. Damoisele Peur shall be portress and shall guard well the cloister of conscience,

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chase away the evil, and summon the good. She shall take care that no evil enter the cloister of the heart through the door of the mouth, or by the window of the eyes or of the ears. Honesty will be mistress of the novices and teach them to think in a holy manner. Courtesy shall be in charge of the hostel and shall receive kindly those coming and going. And since a nun should not be alone in company, she shall be accompanied by Simplicity. Courtesy alone might be over bold, and Simplicity might be foolish; therefore the two shall be together. Reason is to be purveyor, and Largesse shall be her companion. Meditation shall keep the granary; Devotion, the cellar.

Here the significance of bread, wine, and oil is explained. Abundance of grain means thinking well of the body and passion of Christ; abundance of wine is consolation for much weeping.

The sacristan and keeper of the clock is "jelosie." It is her duty to arouse the sisterhood each morning to praise and serve God. There is a town clock to awaken the workers, a city clock to awaken the merchants, and so in the cloister there must be the clock of contemplation and of "saint beguignage." It frequently happens that many persons in the cloister have been aroused by the love of God before the clock has sounded.

When the holy abbey has been made and so well ordered, a great usurer of the country brings his four hideous daughters and thrusts them into the abbey. The usurer is the devil; the daughters are Envy, Presumption, Murmur and Detraction, and False Judgment and Suspicion. These daughters of the devil cause so much disturbance that the ladies of the convent are obliged to call on the Holy Spirit for aid. The Holy Spirit heeds their prayer, and in his grace comes to visit them and chases out the evil creatures so that abbey becomes even better than it has been before. The tract closes with the following words: "Ci faut le sermon de labaye du saint esperit."[10]

Readers of *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* will see that the summary of the French sermon might be taken as a résumé of the English tract. There is, indeed, very little difference of content in the two pieces. The English writer uses an illustrative story from Saint Augustine and a figure from Saint Bernard, neither of which is in the French; the French author on the other hand employs a reference to the House of Wisdom that is not in the English. The English

[10] Royal Ms. 16 E xii, ff. 132^{b}-139^{b}.

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version calls the devil a tyrant; the French, a usurer.[11] The French, although it is said at the begining to be for both sexes, "pour ce si fes un livre que cil ou celes qui ne pueent entrer en religion temporele soient en religion esperituale," at several points, which have been indicated in the résumé, is directed to women. All the French versions of this tract that I have seen appear to be addressed to a feminine audience. Miss Allen makes the interesting suggestion that the French tract was "perhaps composed for lay women of high position."[12]

In *The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* one finds almost the same organization of the allegorical convent as in the earlier *Abbey* and in the French spiritual abbey. The "twenty-nine gostly ladies" of the later tract are in the main identical with those in the antecedent French pieces and with those in the English allegory.[13]

Much similarity appears between the spiritual abbey described in these compositions and the allegorical castle of the Cistercians on the Ship of Religion in Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de vie humaine*.[14] In the *Pèlerinage* we find Paour de Dieu (masculine) as porter of the "castle." Obedience is the prioress; Chastity, keeper of the dormitory; Lecon, or, by her right name, Estude, the pittancer; Abstinence, mistress of the refectory; Orison, or Prayer, the messenger who cuts short the pains of Purgatory, and even makes the dead to live again. Other ladies of the abbey are Charity, who is head of the pilgrim's hostel; Voluntary Poverty, who goes about clad only in a "gambeson" and who continually sings because she has nothing to hinder her in her journey; Discipline, who bears in her mouth the file of the Reprehension of Evil; Latria, who plays on musical instruments and who carries a horn called "l'invocation de Dieu in adjutorium."

[11] In Add. MS 39843 and in Add. MS 29986 the term "usurier" is elucidated. In Add. MS 39843, f. 5^{a-b}, the explanation is as follows: "Cest li deables denfer qui est le plus fort usurier qui soit. car pour un pou doneur. un pou de ioie. un pou de delit quil preste en ceste monde qui si pou dure voudra que len li rende en lautre qui touz iourz durra si grant usure que chascuns de ses deteurs li rendra honte & confusion. doleur & affliction. sanz fin & sanz consolacion."

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 334.

[13] *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole,* edited by Carl Horstman (London, 1895) I, pp. 337 ff.

[14] Edited by J. J. Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1893).

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Here it will be seen that the ladies are different in several instances from those in *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and its French original; those who figure both in Deguileville's castle and in the "Abbey" pieces have different offices in their respective houses. Charity, for example, is abbess in the "Abbey" tracts, but, with Deguileville, she is only head of the hostel; Obedience, Deguileville's prioress, is one of the builders of the "Abbey." But, oddly enough, we find in Deguileville's castle, which is an allegorical representation of a Cisterician monastery, the same plan of organization as in the spiritual abbey. In both instances there is a house of ladies. The porter of the Cistercian castle, Paour de Dieu, it is true, is masculine, whereas "Drede," or "Peur," of the "Abbey" is feminine. But with that one exception the officers of Deguileville's monastery are women. From this fact, as Professor Carleton Brown has pointed out,[15] it would seem very much as if Deguileville's allegory must be derivative rather than original. As has been said, a good many allegories depicting a "ghostly abbey" have come down. Mechthild von Magdeburg's German poem is of the thirteenth century, and one of the manuscripts of the French "Sainte Abbaye" is said to have been of the thirteenth century or of the first years of the fourteenth.[16] It is altogether likely, then, that there were even earlier versions in Latin, one of which Guillaume de Deguileville may have known.

In Guillaume de Deguileville's second version of the *Pélerinage,* and in Lydgate's translation, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* we find, not only the good castle of the Cistercian abbey, but also a convent of vicious rule. The head of this second convent is Abuse. Her institution, although well founded on Saint Benedict's rule, is now in a distressing state, since the observance of the rule has declined. The mortar, made of orisons, of fasting and afflictions, and of the singing of masses, is crumbling; the stones of virtue are falling apart. All the members of the community once lived to-

[15] Professor Brown made this suggestion in his seminary in Mediaeval Allegory, New York University, 1930.

[16] See Miss Allen's discussion cited above. Cf. Paul Meyer, "Notice du MS 535 de la Bibliothèque de Metz" *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes français,* 1886, p. 49. Compare also "Li sermons de l'abeie dou Saint Espirs," which occurs in Louvain MS G 53, Art. 10, as described by Alphonse Bayot, *Le Poème Morale,* Liège, 1929, p. xviii. For this reference, I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown.

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gether in peace and unity, but now Peace, Unity, and Charity are exiled; the place is unclean; all has come to grief.[17]

The allegory is here worked out in much grotesque detail, which need not be reviewed. The state of the unfortunate abbey bears some resemblance to that prevailing in the Castle of Unity,[18] which, because of internal deterioration, is unable successfully to withstand its besieging foes.

[17] See Lydgate's *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, E.E.T.S., E.S.,* LXXVII, LXXXIII & XCII, ll. 23443 ff.

[18] *Piers Plowman,* Text B, XX, 73-74; 211-384.

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VI

THE CASTLE BESIEGED

ONE of the interesting facts emerging from a study of mediaeval allegory is that there is much interlinking of themes and motives. The castle, the main subject of certain allegories, appears in others as a mere element in the design. In the case of the figurative siege, the castle may itself be given an allegorical interpretation, as is the case with the Castle of Unity in *Piers Plowman,* or it may be merely the center of the conflict as in *The Castell of Perseverance.*

The allegory of the siege naturally connects itself with the Psychomachia theme: the conflict of the vices and the virtues. One source of this conflict is surely to be found in the Pauline warfare. Tertullian has been cited as another source of the Prudentian allegory.[1] The conflict between the vices and the virtues is, indeed, clearly outlined in the *De spectaculis.*[2] In the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius,[3] there is, if not a castle besieged, at least a camp around which centers the conflict between the forces of Concord and those of Discord. Thus the allegory of battle with a suggestion of the siege occurs in Latin literature as early as the fourth century.

In the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great appears the figure of evil spirits besieging the city, or state, of the mind. Commenting on Verse 25 of the twenty-second chapter of Job, Gregory wrote as follows: "Quos magis alios hostes patimur quam malignos spiritus, qui in nostris nos cogitationibus obsident, ut civitatem valeant nostrae mentis irrumpere, eamque sub sui jugo dominii captam tenere?"[4] Honorius of Autun emphasizes two aspects of the siege which appear both in the *Psychomachia* and, centuries later, in *Piers Plowman,* namely, attack from without and dissension within. "Cujusque autem fidelis corpus hujus civitatis castellum praedicatur, quod ab anima principe et populo virtutum inhabitatur, in qua contra exercitum viciorum decertatur. Hoc castellum a turba hostium exterius obsidetur, a factione civium interius commovetur dum prox-

[1] See Aimé Puech's *Prudence,* Paris, 1888, p. 240.
[2] *P.L.,* I, 735.
[3] *Psychomachia*—Edited by Joannes Bergman, Upsala, 1897. A convenient summary is given in the Introduction, p. xxv.
[4] *P.L.,* LXXV, 1131.

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imi exteriora damna ei inferunt, vicia autem et carnis desideria interiora bona obruunt."[5] In *Piers Plowman,* as will be seen later, it is the decay of morale within the Castle of Unity that makes it unable successfully to withstand its foes.

Without heaping up quotations, one may pass to the parables once ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux, and still called the "Parables of Bernard."[6] Of the five parables, the first three bear the initial title, "De pugna spirituali." In the first the spiritual battle is combined with an allegorical version of the flight and rescue of the prodigal son. The prodigal is man, who departs from the paradise of a good conscience seeking novelty. He flees from the face of God, wanders in the mountains of pride *(altitudinis),* through the vales of curiosity, the meads of license, the groves of desire, the marshes of carnal pleasures, the torrents of wordly cares. He is captured by the ancient foe of mankind, is placed, after a time, in the ship of evil security, and eventually is bound in the prison of despair. From this woeful imprisonment, the prodigal is rescued by Timor and Spes, and is further aided by Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice. Conducted by these protectors, the erring youth comes to the castle *(castrum)* of Sapience, which is described in the following words: "Fossa vero profundae Humilitatis castra cingebat: super quam fortissimus et pulcherrimus murus Obedientiæ aedificatus coelos penetrabat quem bonorum exemplorum historiae undique depictae mirabiliter decorabant. Ædificatus autem erat cum propugnaculis: mille clypei ex eo dependebant, omnis armatura fortium. Porta Professionis omnibus patens: janitor in limine dignos inducens, et indignos abjiciens. Praeco super portam clamans: Si quis diligit Sapientiam, ad me declinet, et eam inveniet; et eam cum invenerit, beatus est si tenuerit eam. Huc filius regis, occurrentis sibi Sapientiæ ducatu introductus, imo ulnis deportatus, familiae regiae vallatus obsequiis, ad mediae civitatis arcem perducitur, ubi ipsa aedificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem, subdidit sibi gentes, superborumque et sublimium colla propria virtutè calcavit."

From this point to the actual siege, the allegory is curiously confused with the Old Testament details. After a time a great storm sweeps from the North, shaking the camp of Sapience. For

[5] *Speculum Ecclesiae, P.L.,* CLXXII, 1097.

[6] For an illuminating discussion of these parables, see K. Raab, *op. cit. passim.*

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Pharaoh has set out with chariots and horsemen to pursue fleeing Israel. . . . . The castle is besieged. "Jam surgunt tentationum machinae; urget undique inimicus ille, in insidiis draco, in aperto leo; cogit socios, ignes injicit, perfodit muros, bella suscitat, insidias submittit, totius urbis minitans excidium. Intus vero timor et angustiae, et a vehementi et improviso hostium impetu omnes turbati sunt, et moti sunt sicut ebrius, et omnis sapientia eorum devorata est, et clamaverunt ad Dominum cum tribularentur (*Psal.* CVI, 27, 28.). Curritur ad arcem Sapientiae; mala nuntiantur; consilium quaeritur. Reversa enim ad se Prudentia consulit Sapientiam, quid facto opus sit. Illa accelerandum testatur, et quaerendum summi regis auxilium." The conference of Prudentia and Sapientia results in a decision to send Oratio to the king for aid. After a long search Oratio is found, placed on the horse of faith, and started on the journey. He does not stop before reaching the gates of the Lord. Coming before the throne, he sets forth the urgency of the case. The king, turning to his consort, Charity, asks who shall be sent to the rescue. Charity's reply is: "Ecce ego, mitte me." The king permits Charity to go. Upon her arrival, the forces of evil flee, the besieged forces triumph, and joy abounds.[7] In the second of the parables, the castle *(castrum)* of Justice is besieged by the forces of evil. The last is the most interesting of the parables, but since it has been discussed in the chapter on the castle and the wardens of the soul, it need not be taken up here.

In French literature, the battle of the vices and the virtues is found very fully developed in the *Tornoiement de l'Antéchrist,*[8] but, although several castles appear in the poem, the conflict does not center about any of them. The army of Christ is encamped in the city of Esperance; the forces of Antichrist have as their fortress the "chastel de Desperance"; there is, as has been mentioned, the castle-of-the-body motif in the debate between the heart and the eye, and the statement is made in one place (ll. 612-613) that

> Tuit li chasteaus et tuit li bours
> Fu estormiz et tuit esmuez.

As the title of the poem indicates, however, the battle between the

[7] *P.L.*, CLXXXIII, 757 ff.

[8] Huon de Méri: *Tornoiement de l'Antéchrist,* edited by P. Tarbé, Reims, 1851, and by G. Wimmer (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete romanischen Philologie,* LXXVI), Marburg, 1888.

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hosts of evil and the soldiers of Christ takes place in the open fields.[9]

The battle between the forces of Love and the forces of Jealousy in the *Roman de la Rose* is thought by Langlois to have been an imitation of Huon de Méri's *Tornoiement,* and is believed by Miss Owen to have influenced the siege around the Castle of Unity in *Piers Plowman.*[10] Whether this latter theory can be maintained or not, it is not out of place to mention this siege in a discussion of religious allegory, for the famous "Roman" had its influence upon religious as well as upon secular literature.[11] The castle itself, although fully described, is not interpreted allegorically, but it is the fortress in which the rose is guarded; it embraces the tower in which Bel Accueil is imprisoned; and it is the object of a siege by the god of love and his vassals. Its part is that usually played by the castle in an allegory of conflict.

Le Songe du castel, in which appears a true allegory of the castle, has been discussed in Chapter II. In that thirteenth-century poem, it will be remembered, man is represented as a besieged castle.

Le Château périlleux, a rather long religious prose piece by "Frère Robert," said to be of the fifteenth century, derived its title, the illumination of its frontispiece in at least one manuscript, and something of its content from the figure of the castle in constant danger of attack by its enemies. The nun, Rose, the cousin of the author, and the person to whom the treatise is addressed, is counselled ever to guard the imperilled castle, which, in this case, is not that of the body, but rather that of divine grace abiding in the heart. The work of Frère Robert is a manual of conventual living, which would appear to be somewhat akin in purpose and in spirit to the much earlier *Ancren Riwle.*[12]

[9] See Dorothy Owen's *Piers Plowman: A Comparison with some Earlier and Contemporary French Allegories, London,* 1912, p. 84.

[10] See E. Langlois's edition of *Le Roman de la Rose* (Société des Anciens Textes français), Paris, 1914-1924: ll. 3800 ff.; 10439 ff.; 12015 ff.; 15105 ff.; and compare Miss Owen's résumé of the siege, *op. cit.* pp. 82-85. Compare also E. Langlois's *Les Origines et sources du Roman de la Rose* (Paris, 1891), 151-152.

[11] This influence is to be seen especially in the case of Guillaume de Deguileville, who, in the opening lines and in the colophon of the first recension of *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine* (ed. J. J. Stürzinger for the Roxburghe Club) acknowledges his indebtedness. Compare Katharine B. Locock's Introduction to Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man. E.E.T.S., E.S.,* LXXVII, p. ix.

[12] Paulin Paris: *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi,* IV, Paris, 1841. See pp. 146-155. The MS described by Paulin Paris, according to the present numbering, is fonds français, 445, Bibliothèque Nationale. See

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Two important besieged castles in early English literature are the Castle of Unity in the B- and C-texts of *Piers Plowman* and the Castle of Perseverance, in both of which the Psychomachia theme appears. In *Piers Plowman,* B, XIX, 311 ff., Piers is told by Grace to build for himself a house in which to garner his grain. Piers asks for timber. Grace gives him the cross and the crown of thorns, makes a mortar of the blood and baptism of Christ, and calls it mercy. Grace then begins to make a good foundation; he wattles and walls it with Christ's pains and passion; he makes the roof of Holy Writ, and calls the house "Unite," Holy Church in English. Pride sees Piers plowing, and makes up his mind to attack Conscience and all the Christian and cardinal virtues. Then Conscience advises that all Christians hasten into Unity and hold themselves there, since they can never overcome Pride unless Grace be with them. Kind Wit comes to teach Conscience and commands the Christians to dig a deep ditch about Unity. Antichrist soon appears upon the scene with hundreds in his train, Pride bearing the banner. Unity is besieged by Antichrist and seven giants. All might have gone well, however, but for dissension and indifference within the castle. Flatterer, a false friar, comes in as a leech to minister to the languishing Contrition. But instead of healing Contrition, he merely lulls him to sleep, as he has done many others. Sloth and Pride renew the attack; Conscience calls upon Clergy, and bids Contrition hold the gate, but all efforts are vain. No help is forthcoming. The forces of evil are too strong; Conscience has to go forth into the world seeking Piers the Plowman.[13]

Here, it will be noted, are to be found two features of the fourth century poem of Prudentius: the battle between the vices and the virtues, and the presence of discord within the camp. For the student of the castle allegory, there is additional interest in that the castle which is the center of the action is itself an allegorically constructed building.[14]

Catalogue des manuscrits français, ancien fonds (Paris, 1868), Vol. I. p. 44, No. 445. The piece is said to exist in many MSS. It appears as article 3 in No. 946, Bibliothèque Mazarine. See *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, par Auguste Molinière* (Paris, 1885), Vol. I, p. 454, No. 946. It is interesting to note that *Le Château périlleux* begins with a brief version of the "intravit" allegory, and that it embraces the allegory of building a castle of the heart as well as the allegory of the siege.

[13] Text B, XX; Text C, XXII.

[14] See Introduction: "The Allegorical Edifice."

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Such is not the case with *The Castell of Perseverance.* There little use is made of the castle allegory. The castle of perseverance, or of virtue, or of goodness, as it is variously called, is but the fortress in which man may withstand his three enemies, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil. But Professor Manly's suggestion[15] that the author of the morality had made use of Grosseteste's allegory, whether accepted or not, adds to the interest of the play as a castle piece. It is true, certainly, that quite aside from "the mediaeval commonplace of God's four daughters and their opposing pleas for and against man's soul," in which Dr. Furnivall saw the only likeness between *The Castell of Perseverance* and *The Castle of Love,* there appear in Grosseteste's *Château* lines containing several elements of the morality play. In these lines the author represents himself as fleeing to the Virgin for refuge from his three enemies. The dramatic quality of the lines is noteworthy.

Franche Pucele Reïne,
De refui forte fermine,
A tei est ma alme venue
Ki a ta porte huche e hue,
Hue e huche, e hue e crie,
Duce Dame, aïe, aïe,
Reïne Dame, ovrez, ovrez.
Un peu puiser me lessez,
De cele grace ki garist
Les poveres en espirit.
De hors tun chastel su assis
De treis de mes enemis.
Cest li diables e li mund
E ma char ki me somunt
Trestut adès de mal fere.
Mult funt a ma alme contrere.
Grant parlement ont tenu;
Li diables est primes venu,
Ki a treis oz en mi se dresce
Ce est orgoil, ire e peresce
Li mund a deus oz assise
Ceo est envie e cuveitise
E la char ki tant se plie
A fou delit e gloutunie.
Damage me unt esmeü;

[15] This suggestion is mentioned and discussed by F. J. Furnivall in "Afterwords" to the *Macro Plays,* p. xli, *E.E.T.S., E.S.,* XCI, London, 1904. *The Castell of Perseverance,* dated about 1425, is in this volume.

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Champion su ja recreü;
Si ta grace ne me aïe,
Tut ai perdu la mestrie.
Vus ki fiebles redressiez,
Fai me puiser a le fossez,
Ou li chasteus est estable,
E charité est conestable.[16]

The firmness of this castle may have suggested to the English author the title, *The Castell of Perseverance*. In the passage quoted, moreover, it will be observed that the essential dramatic features of *The Castell* appear in brief. As in the morality play, so here there are three enemies, each with his host of adherents, to attack the soul. Here the Devil is upheld by Pride, Wrath, and Sloth; the World, by Envy and Covetousness; the Flesh, by "Fou Delit" and Gluttony. In the morality, the arrangement is much the same: the chief supporter of the World is Covetousness; Belial's adherents are Pride, Wrath, and Envy; the Flesh summons to his aid Glotony, Slawth, and Lechery.[17] In both the play and the poem the soul is conceived as a separate entity. In *The Castell of Perseverance* the Blessed Virgin is not represented as the castle, but the castle is described as a "precyous place, fful of vertu & of grace"[18] and the following words of Castitas contain some phrases that may be reminiscent of Grosseteste's allegory:

Mankynde! take kepe of chastyte,
& moue þee to maydyn Marye.
fleschly foly, loke þou fle,
at þe reuerense of oure Ladye.
þat curteys qwene, what dyd sche?
Kepte hyr clene & stedfastly,
& in here was trussyd þe trin[i]te
þorwe gostly grace she was worthy,
& al for sche was chaste.
who-so kepyt hym chast, & wyl not syynne.
whanne he is beryed in bankis brynne,
al hys joye is to begynne:
þerefore, to me take taste![19]

[16] See ll. 789-820. Compare also the English versions (14th century), especially that of the Vernon MS, *E.E.T.S.*, 98, ll. 881-910, and the Sawley monk's version, which appears in the appendix to the same volume.
[17] See ll. 2187-2226; 2227-2248; 2415-2427.
[18] Ll. 1558-1559.
[19] Ll. 1631-1643.

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To me it seems not improbable that Grosseteste's allegory influenced *The Castell,* but I doubt whether such an influence can be definitely established. Nor should I argue for a direct influence of the *Psychomachia*[20] or of the Bernardian parables, but there is one feature, not hitherto pointed out, I think, as a common characteristic of the *Psychomachia,* the first *Parable* of Bernard, and the English morality: that is, double dramatic action. *The Castell of Perseverance* is really two plays in one. The end of the first comes when, after yielding to temptation and deserting the good angel, Mankind is won back into the Castle of Perseverance; of the second, when, the vices having recovered possession of him, his soul is saved through the intervention of Peace and Mercy, who plead before their Father against their sisters, Justice and Truth. A similar structure occurs in the poem of Prudentius. After the virtues have won in their conflict with the vices, there springs up another battle between Concord and Discord. Likewise, in the first of the "Parables of Bernard," the son of the great king becomes a prodigal, falls into prison, is released from prison, and led into the Castle of Sapience. Dramatically this is the end, but not so in fact. The Castle of Sapience is attacked, defended, and saved before the final happy end is reached.[21]

It has often been remarked that the use of flowers as weapons occurs both in the *Psychomachia* and in *The Castell.* In the former, Luxuria attacks Sobriety with violets and rose leaves (ll. 326-327); in the latter, Charity breaks the head of Envy with "fayre rosys" (ll. 2211-2212).[22]

In the morality part of the Digby *Mary Magdalene,* the Castle of Maudelyn serves both as an actual edifice and as a figurative building subject to attack by the Seven Deadly Sins. It will be remembered that Cyrus, the father of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, shortly before his death bequeathed to his son Lazarus the "lordshep of Ierusalem," to Martha, Bethany, and to Mary "the castell of maud-

[20] As R. L. Ramsay has pointed out in the Introduction to his edition of Skelton's *Magnificence, E.E.T.S., E.S.,* XCVIII, cxlix, the *Psychomachia* has been "universally recognized" as the ultimate source of the conflict between the vices and the virtues.

[21] *P.L.,* CLXXXIII, 757 ff. Double dramatic action has been noted as a characteristic of *The Castell of Perseverance* as well as of some other English moralities, but not, I think, as a common feature of *The Castell,* the *Psychomachia,* and the Bernardian parable.

[22] Compare Ramsay, *op. cit.,* p. cliii, Footnote.

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elyn." The forces of evil, Satan, the King of the World, the King of the Flesh, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Bad Angel conspire against Mary, for Satan says that if she remain virtuous, she will be able to destroy hell. Thereupon, according to the stage directions, the Seven Deadly Sins besiege the Castle of Maudelyn, until Mary agrees to go to Jerusalem where she is destined to fall into sin. Here there is no actual debate between the vices and the virtues; the virtues do not appear in person. But after Mary has been corrupted, the Good Angel prompts her to repentance, and Jesus converts her to a holy life.[23]

It has been seen that the motif of the beleaguered castle is often used in connection with the Prudentian conflict between the vices and the virtues. In two rather early pieces appears a more complex allegorical pattern: that in which are combined the figurative siege around the castle, the warfare between good and evil, and the theme of Christ as a knight, clad in the armor of his human nature, jousting with the foes of a lady whom he greatly loves, namely, the human soul, or the human race.

The three anchoresses for whom the *Ancren Riwle* was written were edified at one point by a parable of the love of Christ. In this parable, the soul is represented as a lady dwelling in an "earthen castle" sorely beleaguered. The lady, beloved by a powerful king, is unappreciative of his devotion; she is proud and scornful. None the less, so great is the love of the king that he jousts with the besieging forces, and, at the cost of his own life, delivers her from her enemies. The elucidation of the parable follows: "This king is Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who in this manner wooed our soul, which the devils had besieged. And he as a noble knight, after many good deeds, came to prove his love, and shewed by his knightly prowess that he was worthy of love as knights were sometimes wont to do. He engaged in a tournament, and had for his lady's love, his shield everywhere pierced in battle like a valorous knight. This shield, which covered his godhead, was his dear body."[24]

[23] *The Digby Plays,* edited by F. J. Furnivall, *E.E.T.S., E.S.,* LXX, pp. 66-86. *Mary Magdalene,* ll. 305-469; 588-775.

[24] Edited by James Morton for the Camden Society: *Publications of the Camden Society,* 57, pp. 389-392. I have quoted from Morton's modernization. The date of the *Ancren Riwle* is problematical. The consensus of opinion seems to be that the earliest extant manuscripts are to be dated 1230-1250. Miss Allen has thought that the composition of the piece might be

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Much the same combination of themes is made in an Anglo-Norman poem appended to Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle,* and entitled, by Thomas Wright, "An Allegorical Romance on the Death of Christ."[25] In the poem, the king has placed his lady, who this time seems to be the human race, in a strong castle, but an evil tyrant has lured her out. In this case as in the earlier *Ancren Riwle,* the lover puts on the armor of human flesh, and undertakes single-handed the combat with the enemies of his beloved.

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placed about a hundred years earlier. R. W. Chambers has expressed the view that the earliest MSS may represent a recension of an earlier form; J. R. R. Tolkien believes the linguistic evidence against dating the composition of the English original much before 1225. A part of the discussion of date and authorship appears in the following articles: R. W. Chambers: "Recent Research upon the *Ancren Riwle," Review of English Studies,* I (1925), 4-23; H. E. Allen: "The Origin of the *Ancren Riwle," PMLA,* XXXIII (1918), 474-546, and "On the Author of the *Ancren Riwle," PMLA,* XLIV (1929), 635-680; J. R. R. Tolkien, "*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidenhad*" in the *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association,* XIV (1929), 104-126. A full bibliography is to be found in Wells's *Manual* and its four supplements.

[25] *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft,* edited by Thomas Wright. Rolls Series, 47[2], London 1868. See the second volume, p. 426. The date would seem to be late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. This poem is probably by Nicole de Bozon, a Franciscan friar who is believed to have lived in England in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. See Paul Meyer's "Notice et Extraits du MS 8336 de la Bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillips à Cheltenham", *Romania* XIII (1884), 497 ff., and *Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon Frère Mineur* Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith and Paul Meyer, for the Société des Anciens Textes français, (Paris, 1889), Introduction, p. II.

This poem, together with the theory of Nicole de Bozon's authorship, was brought to my attention through discussions in a seminary conducted by Professor Carleton Brown (New York University, 1930). Mr. W. Gaffney, a member of that seminary, expects to publish soon a thorough study of the poem and its literary relations.

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VII

THE CASTLE AND THE PILGRIMAGE

THE poet who has best depicted mediaeval England found in the popular pilgrimage of his day a narrative plan uniquely suited to his design. To the allegorist, also, the pilgrimage offered an unlimited field of opportunity. Every one went on pilgrimages, and anything might happen in the course of those jovial and pious journeys. To the religious writer wishing to employ the scheme of figurative interpretation so much beloved in the Middle Ages, the adventures possible in actual life could be turned to an edifying use. Once the pilgrim had set out he would probably soon come to a cross-roads where he might be puzzled as to the proper course: to the serious-minded cleric this choice would at once appear as that between the strait and narrow way leading to eternal life and the broad and easy road to destruction. The pilgrim and his friends might be attacked by foes: to the allegorist, the hero's company could be readily envisaged as the virtues withstanding the onslaught of the seven deadly sins. Thus every adventure of the pilgrim by the way could be turned to allegory, and every part of the scene, every city, house, or castle could be given a figurative sense.

The castle as it enters into the pilgrimage scheme is of varying degrees of independent interest; sometimes it is important in itself but more often it is only the abode of a vice or a virtue, or the mere goal of the pilgrimage.

As has been mentioned in the first chapter of this study, the thirteenth-century trouvère, Rutebeuf, introduced into the *Voie de Paradis* several allegorically constructed edifices, notably the House of Humility and the House of Anger.[1] Likewise we have noted in *Piers Plowman* several buildings of figurative materials.[2]

Of an altogether different nature from these edifices is the castle that appears in Canto IV of Dante's *Inferno*. In the First Circle of Hell were the noble spirits of antiquity who had lived virtuously without having been Christians. Here stood a noble castle encir-

[1] See Chapter I. Compare Miss Owen's *Piers Plowman*, p. 98.

[2] See Chapter I. Although *Piers Plowman* is not a typical pilgrimage allegory, the pilgrimage motif frequently appears in the poem. It is one of the pieces in which castle, siege, and pilgrimage themes are combined.

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cled with seven walls. Through seven gates, the poets passed into a beautiful meadow.

> Venimmo al piè d'un nobile castello,
> Sette volte cerchiato d'alte mura,
> difeso intorno d'un bel fiumecello.
>
> Questo passamo come terra dura;
> per sette porte intrai con questi savi;
> giugnemmo in prato di fresca verdura.[3]

Of these lines H. Oelsner writes "The symbolism here is not very obvious. Perhaps the castle stands for Philosophy; the seven walls: the liberal virtues (*i.e.,* Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, Wisdom, Knowledge and Understanding); the stream: Eloquence; the seven gates: the liberal arts (Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy)."[4] If this interpretation be correct, we have here a suggestion of scholastic allegory.

Guillaume de Deguileville's long and complex allegory, *Le Pèlerinage de vie humaine,* recounts, not a journey through the world of spirits, but the pilgrimage of the Christian through this world to the City of God. Some incidental use of castles is made, the most important being that discussed under the head of "The Castle and the Abbey." The castles on the Ship of Religion, it will be remembered, represent convents of the various religious orders. The castle described at length is that of the Cistercians.

In religious allegory the goal of the pilgrimage is usually not a "castle," but, rather, the heavenly city. The figure of the Christian as a stranger in this world journeying to the true home of his spirit is one frequently found in patristic writings. But for the conventional pilgrimage to an ideal goal, we must turn to secular didactic literature. There one finds a good many examples of this type, which, in the main, conform to a certain scheme. The scheme is somewhat as follows: The hero, usually a young man, falls asleep and dreams. In his dream he is summoned by an abstract monitor to undertake a pilgrimage to the castle of a certain virtue, ideal quality, or happy state of being. Here, as in the strictly religious allegory, he is likely to encounter "many jeopardies" on the way:

[3] Canto IV, ll. 106-111. Temple Classics Edition, and Charles Eliot Norton's translation: *Dante Alighieri: The Divine Comedy,* I (Boston and New York, 1898), 16.

[4] Notes to Canto IV, ll. 106-111 in the Temple Classics Edition.

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he may be assailed by the seven sins, or, as often happens in the morality plays, he may be led by some such evil adviser as "Barat" to turn aside from the counsels of Wisdom or of Reason.

Poems having approximately this design are Jean Bruyant's *Chemin de Povreté et de Richesse* (date, 1342), sometimes entitled *Le Chastel de Labour*,[5] the two poems derived from this, namely, Pierre Gringore's *Chasteau de Labour* and the English translation of the latter attributed to Alexander Barclay, *The Castell of Labour*;[6] William Nevill's *Castell of Pleasure*;[7] and *Le Chemin de Vaillance*,[8] a long, inedited poem of the early fifteenth century. Related to the type, but not actually of it, are *Le Casteau d'Amours*[9] by Gringore and *Le Chastel de Joyeuse Destinée*.[10] The former of these is chiefly satirical: the latter is in the court-of-love tradition.

The poems belonging to the "Castle of Labour" group present the theme that sufficiency *(souffisance)* gained by labour is better than riches. The hero, a young newly-married man, is attacked in his dreams by such formidable beings as Need, Necessity, Poverty, and Distress. Just as he is about to fall into despair, he is counselled by Reason and Wisdom, and is advised to set out to the Castle of Labour. The crafty advocate, "Barat," or Deceit, as he is in the English version, tries to put him at variance with his sage friends, but is unsuccessful. The young man makes the journey without mishap. He has been warned against the deadly sins and told how to withstand them, but he does not actually encounter them. The

[5] Printed in *Le Menagier de Paris—publié pour la première fois par la Société des Bibliophiles français*, II, Paris, 1846.

[6] *The Castell of Labour*, edited by A. W. Pollard for the Roxburghe Club. Edinburgh, 1905. Date, about 1501. Gringore's poem printed in this same volume is to be dated about 1499. See Pollard's Introduction.

[7] *E.E.T.S.*, 179, London, 1930. Nevill's poem is dated about 1518.

[8] Royal MS. 14 E ii. The poem is very well summarized in Ward's *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum*, I (London, 1883), 895 ff. On f. 69, the date of writing is given as 1424. As is suggested in Ward's *Catalogue*, the date, 1406, given at the end must be a mistake for 1426.

[9] *In Poésies des XV et XVI siècles, publiées d'après des Éditions Gothiques et des Manuscrits*. Paris, chez Silvestre, 1830-1832.

[10] *Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhetorique* (Reproduction en facsimile de l'édition publiée par Antoine Vérard vers 1501). Paris, 1910. Société des Anciens Textes français. There are two volumes: Volume I is the facsimile reproduction of the text; Volume II, published 1925, is made up of Introduction and Notes. See Vol. I, Signature E i^{b}, ff. (Fol. XXV^{b}). For the facts known about the poem, see Vol. II, pp. 90-94.

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Castle of Labour, true to its name, proves to be a place for work. As an edifice it is not allegorically treated.

In the original poem of this group, the allegory is clearly conceived, and, although not inspiriting, well constructed. It presents the *Psychomachia* theme, but as has been said, the battle does not actually take place. The poem is a logical development of its subject, comparatively brief and almost free from digression.

Such is not the case with *Le Chemin de Vaillance,* which is vast in scope. Although it is not an allegory of the entire course of human life, it embraces some philosophy, much religious instruction, and, I believe, every possible motif of allegory. In the course of its forty thousand lines, its hero is guided by such personages as Nature, "Proesse," "Hardement," "Foy," "Charite." In his long initial dialogue with Nature, such topics as the five senses, the soul, and common sense are discussed. "Desir," "Proesse" and "Hardement" appear, and the two last named conductors lead the author to Reason. The significance of the pilgrim's armor is then explained in much detail. Reason departs and Youth *(Ionesse)* comes to the hero. "Lacteur" now crosses the Bridge of Fragility, and comes under the sway of the Flesh. He goes to the Mount of Vain Glory where he meets the World. He beholds various images, which are explained to him. "Le Monde" discourses on the seven ages of man.

In the course of the second book, the author has a vision of the seven virtues. Soon the *Psychomachia* plot is again to the fore. "Orgueil" imprisons the author in his "chastel." After a time Humility attacks and eventually captures the castle. The poet, then, with infinite leisure introduces one conflict after another until, I believe, the usual number of battles have been fought.

In the third book there is much discussion concerning matters of faith. The Ship of Law, in which the hero embarks, is fully described: the words of various prophets are expounded. Faith speaks of the seven degrees of the seven sacraments. Heresy tempts the author.

In the fourth and last book, as the rubric informs us, "l'acteur" speaks first of his state and of his conductors. Charity leads the author into the "jardin pardurable." There he finds the seven fountains of Mercy, all of which are duly interpreted. Then Faith leads the author up on the "mont espirituel." Here seven lamps, which seem to represent the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, are burn-

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ing brightly. The Forest of Benignity with its eight trees representing the eight beatitudes next engages attention. At last the author arrives at his destination, and is ushered into the presence of "Lady Vaillance."[11]

The few details here selected from the poet's vast panorama indicate the complexity of his design. The conflict of the vices and the virtues, the pilgrim's armor, the perilous bridge, the mystic fountains, the siege of the castle—these are a few of the allegorical motifs employed. With regard to the castles and other buildings, however, one observes little tendency to allegory. With the possible exception of the House of Fortune (f. 65a), I believe there is no allegorical edifice in the poem. As is usually the case in the complex allegory of the pilgrimage, the castle is of little independent interest.

[11] Royal MS 14 E, ii. I have not attempted to give a résumé of the poem, but only to select a few details of interest to the student of allegory. The summary in Ward's *Catalogue,* as cited above, is as nearly satisfactory as any abstract of so extensive a work can be. Compare also A. Piaget: "Le Chemin de Vaillance de Jean de Courcy et l'hiatus de l *é* final des polysyllabes aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ Siècles", *Romania,* XXVII (1898), 582-607.

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CONCLUSION

THE ancient device of treating buildings allegorically was naturally extended to all important edifices known. In a period devoted to allegorical interpretation, it would have been most surprising had such interpretation not been applied to the castle, especially during the time when the castle was the center of social life. The castle of the body is but a species in the genus of the bodily edifice. The conception of the soul as dwelling in the body led to the allegories of the soul and its wardens. The mystery of the incarnation and the worship of the Blessed Virgin gave rise to the comparison of the Virgin to an edifice: to the temple, to the House of Wisdom, to the Ark of the Covenant, to the castle. The abbey, being a place of refuge from the enemies of man, namely, the world, the flesh, and the devil, could well be interpreted as a castle. The appearance of the castle in allegories having to do with the battle of the vices and the virtues and in allegorical pilgrimages, is derived from the place of the castle in actual life.

To the mediaeval delight in allegory and to the social institutions of the time, literature added certain sources of the allegorical edifice, and, more particularly, of the castle. As has been shown, for religious writings, the literary sources are in most instances drawn from the Bible. In the case of the theme made famous by Robert Grosseteste, that of the Virgin as a castle, the Liturgy seems to have exerted an influence. There is little room for doubt that the early selection of the "Intravit" passage from the tenth chapter of Luke as a lection in the Mass of the Assumption gave rise to the development of the allegory that was to prove the most important and the most beloved of its type.

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E.E.T.S.: Early English Text Society.
E.E.T.S., E.S.: Early English Text Society, Extra Series.
P.G.: Patrologia Graeca, edited by J. P. Migne.
P.L.: Patrologia Latina, edited by J. P. Migne.
PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

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LATIN ALLEGORIES OF THE EDIFICE

A Selective List

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Sermones octo. Sermo II: In Annuntiatione Beatae Mariae, quando evenit Dominica in Palmis. *P.L.*, CCX, 201-202. "Ite in castellum. . . . ."

Appendix to the Opera dogmatica of Hugo of Saint Victor: "Miscellanea" V. *P.L.*, CLXXVII, 767-768.

"Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum (Luc. x). Castellum est anima, vallum patientia, turris nomen Domini, fossae profunditas vera humilitas, portae sensus corporei, arma opera virtutum, vigiles et propugnatores sensus spirituales. Quorum alii vigilant per morum circumspectionem, alii pugnant per vitiorum expulsionem, alii pausant per internam caelestium contemplationem. Cibus est sacra Scriptura, potus facilior intelligentia; principes quatour virtutes, prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, temperantia."

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

Sermones: In Assumptione B. V. Mariae. There are four sermons on the Assumption of the Virgin, the second and the third being on the "Intravit" text. *P.L.*, CLXXXIII, 417 ff.

BRUNO, BISHOP OF SEGNI

Comment. in Luc., Pars I, Cap. X, 22. *Castellum* is here interpreted as the Church. *P.L.*, CLXV, 390-391.

Castle of Prudence

Arundel MS 384. Described in Ward's *Catalogue of the Romances in the British Museum,* III, 112-113. For this reference, I am indebted to Mrs. Carleton Brown.

GARNERIUS, ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUX and BISHOP OF LANGRES

Sermones in Festa Domini et Sanctorum. Sermo XXVIII: In Assumptione B. Mariae. *P.L.*, CCV, 751-752.

GODFREY, ABBOT OF WEINGARTEN, ADMONT

Homiliae. Homilia LXIV: In Festam Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis. "Intrans castellum praesentis saeculi duas in se naturas habuit Filius Dei. . . . ." *P.L.*, CLXXIV, 959 ff.

GUIBERT OF NOGENT

De laude S. Mariae: Cap. VII, Evangelium in Assumptione b. Mariae. *P.L.*, CLVI, 557.

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HAYMO OF HALBERTSTADT

Homiliae de Sanctis. Homilia VI: In die Sancte Assumptionis Deiparae Virginis Mariae. The castle is here likened to the world. *P.L.*, CXVIII, 767.

HONORIUS OF AUTUN

Liturgica: De Assumptione S. Mariae. *P.L.*, CLXXII 991 ff.

HRABANUS MAURUS

Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam. *P.L.*, CXII, 885.

INNOCENT III

Sermones de Sanctis. Sermo XXVII: "In Solemnitate Assumptionis Gloriosissimae semper Virginis Mariae: Quomodo beata Maria sit castellum et quale, et quomodo Christus sit ingressus, et de duabus sororibus; de vita activa et contemplativa." *P.L.*, CCXVII, 575-576.

PETER OF BLOIS

Sermones. Sermo XXXV. *P.L.*, CCVII, 665 ff.

PETER DAMIAN

Sermones. Homilia in Dominica Palmarum. ". . . . Ite in castellum, [illegible] quod contra vos est . . . . Castellum istud mundus est, qui [illegible] contra Dominum et discipulos ejus fuit. . . . ." *P.L.*, CXLIV, [illegible] 544.

"PSEUDO"-BERNARD

In antiphonam Salve Regina, Sermones IV. The fourth sermon employs the "intravit" allegory. *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 1074.

In Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis. In Evangelium Lucae: "Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum. . . . . Quod est autem hoc castellum, nisi cor humanum. . . . ." *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 1001 ff.

Sermo in Dominica Palmarum. "Mittit duos discipulos, ut eant in castellum quod contra eos est. Castellum quod contra discipulos Christi est, anima est peccatrix, quae per obstinationem et elationem internis et spiritualibus Redemptoris nostri virtutibus contraria est. Talis anima turrim elationis, et murum habet obstinationis, per terram pertinaciae clausa, et per eminentiam superbiae erecta. *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 872-873.

RADULPHUS ARDENS (Poitiers)

Homiliae de Tempore. Homilia XXXI: In eodem festo Assumptionis Beatae Mariae. *P.L.*, CLV., 1425 ff.

DOMUS

ANONYMUS PERANTIQUUS

Liber de stabilitate animae: Cap II: De fundamento domus stabilitatis, *P.L.*, CCXIII, 914 ff.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

Sermones de diversis. Sermo LII: De domo divinae Sapientiae, id est Virgine Maria. *P.L.*, CLXXXIII, 674. For this reference I am indebted to Professor Carleton Brown.

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BRUNO, BISHOP OF HERBIPOLIS
Expositio Psalmorum, Psalmus CXXI, vers. 1. *P.L.*, CXLII, 464–465.
GARNERIUS, CANON OF SAINT VICTOR OF PARIS
Gregorianum. Book XIII treats edifices. *P.L.*, CXCIII, 389 ff.
GERHOCH, PROVOST OF REICHERSPERG
Liber de aedificio Dei, Cap. I: "Quis hujus Aedificii auctor et architectus? quae materies, quae instrumenta? *P.L.*, CXCIV, 1193 ff.
GREGORY THE GREAT
Moralia, V, Cap. XXXVIII. "Domos autem luteas habitant, qui de illecebrosa hac vita carnis exsultant." *P.L.*, LXXV, 719. See also the index to the Moralia, *P.L.*, LXXVI: *Domus*. .....
HRABANUS MAURUS
Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam, *P.L.*, CXII, 911-912. A list of figures. See also De universo, Book XIV, Chapter XX: De habitaculis. *P.L.*, CXI, 389.
HUGO OF SAINT VICTOR
De arca Noe morali, IV, Cap. I: Ubi et ex quo aedificata domus Dei. ". . . . Primum designandus est locus, in quo aedificari oporteat domum Domini. Deinde scribenda materia. Locus est cor hominis, materia cogitationes mundae." *P.L.*, CLXXVI, 663 ff.
RUPERT, ABBOT OF TUY
P.L., CLXVII: 481; 935.
Sermones dubii S. Hildefonsi Episcopi Toletani: De Assumptione Beatae Mariae: tertius. *P.L.*, XCVI, 257.
Tractatus de interiori domo seu de conscientia aedificanda. *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 507-550.

TABERNACULUM

ADAM PRAEMONSTRATENSIS
De tripartito tabernaculo, Pars III. *P.L.*, CXCVIII, 743 ff.
Appendix and Hugonis Opera Dogmatica
Miscellanea, VII, Tit. LV. "De tribus tabernaculis, de quibus Petrus: 'Faciamus hic tria tabernacula.' . .) . Tria sunt tabernacula: Synagoga; Ecclesia, coelum." *P.L.*, CLXXVII, 896.
Appendix ad Hugonis Opera Mystica
Sermones centum. Sermo XXXI: De tabernaculis filiorum Israel. *P.L.*, CLXXVII, 968 ff.
Commentarius in Amos Prophetam
"Rufino Presbytero Ascriptus." *P.L.*, XXI, 1103.
GREGORY THE GREAT
Moralia, XIX, Cap. XII. "Quid hoc loco tabernaculum, nisi habitationem mentis accipimus?" *P.L.*, LXXVI, 108. See also the index to this same volume: *Tabernaculum*.
HRABANUS MAURUS
Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam. *P.L.*, CXII, 1062. A list of figures.

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HUGO OF SAINT VICTOR

Exegetica dubia. Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum, III, Cap. IX "De constructione tabernaculi, et de offerendis in eo." "Tabernaculum significat Ecclesiam". This statement is interpreted in detail. *P.L.*, CLXXV, 661 ff.

PETER, ABBOT OF CELLE AND BISHOP OF CHARTRES

Mosaici tabernaculi, mystica et moralis expositio. *P.L.*, CCII, 1047-1084.

PHILIP OF HARVENGT (Hainault)

De dignitate clericorum. Cap. II. *P.L.*, CCIII, 668 ff.

THOMAS THE CISTERCIAN AND JOHN ALGRIN

"Tria sunt tabernacula: materiale, mysticum et morale, scilicet tabernaculum Moysi, tabernaculum Christi, tabernaculum cujuslibet justi. Tabernaculum Moysi fuit ex diversis ornamentis conveniens structura; tabernaculum Christi Ecclesia est; tabernaculum justi quaelibet fidelis anima." *P.L.*, CCVI, 682 ff.

TEMPLUM

ALANUS DE INSULIS

Sermones octo. Sermo II: In Annuntiatione Beatae Mariae, quando evenit in Palmis. *P.L.*, CCX, 202.

ALCUIN

Exegetica. Comment. in Apocal., II, Cap. III, vers. 12. *P.L.*, C, 1112. See also col. 1152.

BEDE

De templo Salomonis. The temple of Solomon is said to have prefigured the Church of Christ. *P.L.*, XCI, 737-738.

CASSIODORUS

Expositio in Psalterium, Psal. XIV, vers. 2. The allegory of the incarnation is suggested. *P.L.*, LXX, 109.

De claustro animae, III, Cap. XI: De templo Salomonis. *P.L.*, CLXXVI, 1113-1114.

FULGENTIUS, BISHOP OF RUSPINA

Contra Fabianum Fragmenta. *P.L.*, LXV, 763-764.

GREGORY THE GREAT

Moralia, XXIV, Cap. VIII. "Justus templum Dei est. . . . ." *P.L.*, LXXVI, 296. See also the index to this volume: *Templum.*

GROSSETESTE, ROBERT, BISHOP OF LINCOLN

Templum Domini. This piece exists in many manuscripts. A very good text is that of Latin MS 153 in the John Ryland's Library.

HRABANUS MAURUS

Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam. A list of figures. *P.L.*, CXII, 1064.

JOANNES CASSIANUS

De incarnatione Christi, VII, Cap. XXI. By baptism the body becomes the temple of God. *P.L.*, L, 242-243.

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Leo Magnus
Sermones. Sermo XLIII: De Quadragesima V. "Vos estis templum Dei vivi" (II Cor. VI, 16). *P.L.*, LIV, 281.
Paschasius Diaconus
De Spiritu Sancto libri duo. Liber II, Cap. VIII: "Ubi templum Dei Templum esse sancti Spiritus demonstratur." *P.L.*, LXII, 35-36.
Peter Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna
Sermones. Sermo LXXXVI: "De ingressu Christi in templum." *P.L.*, LII, 440.
Peter Damian, Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia
Sermones. Sermo LXXI, iii: "In Dedicatione Ecclesiae." *P.L.*, CXLIV, 911.
Peter the Lombard
Comment. in Psalmos, Psal. XXVI, vers. 8. *P.L.*, CXCI, 270. Collectanea in Ep. ad Ephes. CXCII, 185-186.
Rupert, Abbot of Tuy
Comment. in XII Prophetas minores. In Aggeum, I. *P.L.*, CLXVIII, 683-684.
Saint Jerome
Comment. in Aggeum . . . . I², Templum Domini. *P.L.*, XXV, 1459.

Turris

Alcuin
Exegetica: Compendium in Canticum Canticorum, Cap. IV, vers. 4. *P.L.*, C, 651.
Bede
Exegetica genuina. In Pentateuchum commentarii. Genesis XI. *P.L.*, XCI, 229.
Bruno, Bishop of Herbipolis
Expositio Psalmorum. Psalmus LX, vers. 2 and 3. *P.L.*, CXLII, 232-233.
Gilbert de Hoilandia
Sermones in Canticum Salomonis. Sermo XXVI. *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 133.
Hrabanus Maurus
Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam. A list of figures. *P.L.*, CXII, 1070.
De universo, IV, Cap. I. "Interpretatur enim Magdalene *turris*. Mystice autem significat fidem ac pietatem sanctae Ecclesiae, quae odorem notitiae Christi praedicando in universo spargit mundo." *P.L.*, CXI, 84.
Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbei
Expositio in Psalmum XLIV. *P.L.*, CXX, 1058 ff.
"Pseudo" Bernard
Sermo in Dominica Palmarum. "Aedificemus, inquiunt, turrim et celebremus nostrum nomen. *P.L.*, CLXXXIV, 872-873.

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RUFINUS TYRANNUS
Comment. in symbolum Apostolorum. *P.L.*, XXI, 338-339.
RUPERT OF TUY
Comment. in Cantica Canticorum, III. *P.L.*, CLXVIII, 888.
WOLBERO, ABBOT OF SAINT PANTHALEON, COLOGNE
Comment. in Canticum Canticorum Salomonis, Cap. VII, 4. *P.L.*, CXCV, 1231.

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APPENDIX

THE TEXT OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH *TEMPLUM DOMINI*

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Templum Domini

The Middle English *Templum Domini,*[1] so far as is known, exists in only one manuscript namely, B.M. Additional MS 32578 ff. 105ᵇ-116ᵃ. This manuscript is described in the *Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum,* 1882-1887 (pp. 157-158) as of the fifteenth century. I have studied and printed the text from rotographs which the authorities of the British Museum kindly permitted me to have made.

The English *Templum Domini* is listed in Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse,* II, No. 605, as an Englishing of Robert Grosseteste's tract of the same title.[2] The poem is of a good deal of interest as an inedited example in Middle English of an allegory in which the bodily edifice is rather elaborately interpreted. It will be noted that there is a certain general correspondence with Ailred of Rievaulx's spiritual castle and with *The Abbey of the Holy Ghost* in details concerning the preparation of the ground and the erection of the walls.

With the exception of the usual manuscript signs and contractions, the text is as nearly as possible an exact transcription from rotographs of the unique manuscript. I list herewith some particulars as to the method used in transcribing.

The pronoun of the first person usually appears in the text as a rather indefinite long j. This I have transcribed I.

The scribe makes his þ's and his *y*'s alike. These I have distinguished in the transcription.

There is sometimes uncertainty as to capitalization. I cannot be sure that in every case I have followed the scribe in the choice between capital and small letter.

The manuscript signs and contractions I have expanded, italicizing in each case letters representing an expansion. I have hyphenated certain words that are divided in the manuscript and have occasionally separated two words written together.

[1] For some discussion of this piece see the Introduction.

[2] The versions of Bishop Grosseteste's tract are said to differ very greatly. The text which I have compared with the Middle English poem (that of Latin MS 153, the John Ryland's Library) is a good deal more comprehensive than is the poem. The poem seems to be drawn in the main from the first half of this Latin tract.

For rotographs of the Latin text, I am indebted to the kindness of the Librarian of the John Ryland's Library.

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TEMPLUM DOMINI

Incipit Templum Domini

Gode þat all thynge first began
Has giffen his grace in diuerse gyse
Sum to be riche þat litill can
And some are pore & are right wyse
Bot because þat ilka man
Es noȝt full lerned in clergise
I am temptid ay þan & þan
To shewe þis thynge in mene assise

Þis mater þat I will shewe here
Take hede þere-to both gret & small
ffor leue it wele þat þis matere
Longes to cristyn peple alle
Bot for to seke þe grounde most clere
To prestes will it best befalle
ffor þaire bodys with outen were
Goddis temple men it calle

ffor right as we here ilka day
Entre þe kyrke with gud entente
In þe same wyse in gud fay
Be vertu of þe sacrament
In prestes bodys sothe to say
All myghty god is lyght & lent
And who so here-with will say nay
He were wele worthy to be brent

Gods temple is large of brede
ffor many folke entre in þat place
Þen most þe temple of prestes nede
Have a gret brede in þis cace
Þat sall resayue sothly in dede
And close with-in a body space
God & man with outen drede
Wham alle þe worlde may noȝt embras

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Bot howe brode most þis temple be
þat sall resayue so gret a thynge ?
It most be brode in charite
It most be brode als in conynge
It most be brode in þe thyrde degre
In parfite warkes gud wirkynge
þis prestes temple als thynkes me
þus most be braddere þan a kynge

A temple þat is sett au-where
Thre thynges nede most it full-fille
On is þe grounde þat it sall bere,
þe walles, þe rofe þat all sall hille
þus most a prestes temple þere
Haue siche thre thynges be gud skille
His temple for to saue & were
ffor stormes & wedres loude & stille

þe þreste resayues by þe sacrament
God & man in kyndes twayne
þen nedis þe prest to myn entent
To haue two temples in certayne
On where þe godhede sall be sent
A gostly temple soth to sayne
And þere þe manhede is in lent
A bodyly temple of mode & mayne

Of goddis temple bodyly
þe groundynge is þis as I mene
þe bely þat serues to þe body
þe reynes þe lendes alle be-dene
þis groundynge most be gud & try
And þere to paued wele & clene
With temperance full craftely
þat dryfes a way all trey & tene

þis temperance has thynges thre
Closed in hym selue i-wisse
þe first poynt þis warne I þe
Abstinence for sothe it isse

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Þe sceconde [*sic*] poynt in his degre
Is contynence so haue I blisse
Þe thyrde is gud thewes par de
Þat loues no vanytes ne vice //

Abstinence is ryght to rede
Þat noman kepe his flesch to hee
Bot his frele flesch menly to fede
And abstynence I fynde for-Þi
In Þis pament sumdell of brede
Has layde thre stones sikirly
To stoppe out lychery in dede
Dronkenesse and glotony

Contynence Þe soth to say
Thre outhire stones most lay Þereby
Þe fyrst ston is Þat nyght ne day
Do noȝt a-gayne kynde unkyndly
Ne Þat no man Þof all he may
A-gaynes Þe lawe do wrangfully
Þe thyrde Þat no man for no dray
A-gaynes conscyence do wilfully

Gud thewes also fynd I Þere
Lays sex stones in Þis pament
Þe first ston is Þat man suld were
Roughe clothes as hayres to myn entent
Þe secounde Þat he sall auwhere
Lygge harde on nyghtes Þere he is lent
Þe thyrde is lesse Þe fende hym dere
Bot shorte slepis sall he hent

Þe forth ston is Þat man chastice
His flesch with betynge ay amange
Þe fyfte Þat man in meke assȳce
Thole ouere-done hete Þoth it last lange
Þe sexte to let his flesch to ryse
Ouere-done colde ȝit sall he fange
Gods bodyly temple on Þis wyse
Most be paued wele & strange

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Bot of þis te*m*ple most I ȝit
Declare þe walles gude & wyde
þe foure walles *þat* sam*m*en ar knyt
Es brest & bake & e*þer* syde
In þes foure walles as to my witte
ffoure thynges most nede abyde
To kepe þai*m*e close *þat* þai ne flitte
And stoppe out stormes tyme & tyde

þe first poynt most be gret wille
þe seconde most be stedfastnes
þe thyrde is sikirnes in skille
þe fourt poynt is faythfulnesse
þes four*e* poyntes may full-fille
To kepe þes walles in clennes
þes four*e* poyntes take hede *þer*e tille
þai make a dowble stre*n*ght I gesse

þe ryght syde most nede for-þi
Haue strenkth holy in wyrkynge
þen longes *þer*e-to skillfully
Gret will to do a p*ar*fite thynge
ȝhit stedfastnes most be fast by
þat is in gude warke clere festyngynge
And þis is strenkth *þar*fite & trye
To kepe þe right syde fro synynge

þe lefte side so haue I blisse
Most haue also strenkth in suffraunce
And *þat* is sikirnes i-wisse
W*ith* meknes to suffre scharpe greuance
ffaythfulnes *þat* o*þer* is
þat is a trewe continuance
W*ith* ver*t*uys to w*ith*-stand alle vice
And alle þe fendes encombraunce

Made ar*e* þe walles so god me spede
And tymbred up ryght wele & playne
þe rofe is þan if we take hede
þe heued w*ith* his wittes sothe to sayne

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Speche & syght þat sall hym lede
Smellynge & herynge in certayne
Nowe þen þis rofe me thynk has nede
To be wele couerde fro þe rayne

Wisdome most be þe couerhynge
With foure thynges þat serues hym ay
þe first thynge is before seynge
Of thynges þat afterwarde fall may
þe seconde is a wise lokynge
þe thyrde wise demynge in gud fay
þe forth it is a wise lernynge
Of thynge þat may plece god to pay

fforsyght most be in þis gise
þat what thynge þat a man sall do
ffirst to be-thynk hym & a-vise
Whethire falle sall þere-of wele or wo
If it be gud hald forth his price
If it be wike to fall þere fro
And he þat wirkes on siche a wise
Ouere alle may he surely go

A wise lokynge þen calle I þis
A man to loke hym selue with in
And grope his conscience what it is
If his saule be oght in synne
And if he fynde þat oght be mysse
No lenger þat he ligge þere-in
Bot wasch a-way þat syne i-wisse
þis is wise lokynge more ne mynne

Wise demynge to myn a-vise
Discrecioun men calle it here
To knawe vertuys wele fro vice
Gud fro ille in þe same manere
Wis demynge is a pont of price
And makis a conscience clene & clere
Who wysely demys is halden wise
And worthy to be halden dere

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Wis lerneynge ligg*es* in þis cace
Þat if a ma*n* here anythynge
Þat is spokyn in any place
Þat touches to p*ar*fite lifynge
If he þat worde in mynde embrace
And forth in gude use garys it sprynge
Hit comes bothe of witte & grace
And þis I halde a wise lerynge

Þes foure poyntes sykirly
Es wisdame þat falles to þe heuede
Þat goddis te*m*ple bodyly
Most cou*er*e in stede of tyle or lede
Nowe is þis te*m*ple gud & try
And þus sulde p*r*estes in ilka stede
Kepe þaire te*m*ple clene & drye
Þ*er*e god sall come in fourme of brede

Þis bodyly temple nowe is wroght
All of thre p*ar*tys gret & smalle
Of body & brest þ*at* haldes ma*n*s thoght
And of þe heued þat couers alle
Of þes thre I haue upsoght
Þes thre I may thre realmes calle
To knawe þes ilka p*r*est wele aght
If he wald make þe fende his thralle

And ilkone of þes thre p*ar*tyse
Most nede haue gou*er*nynge I ȝowe hete
Þe wombe þe renys to haue se*r*uise
Of þe legges & of þe fete
Be legg*es* & fete man may up ryse
Gif alle he stomble in þe strete
W*ith* gude ways if he be wise
To m*er*cy may he make hym mete

Þes gude ways þus I undirstand
I meene þ*er*e-in no losengery
Als loselles þat laupyn ou*er*e lande
W*ith* beggynge & w*ith* faytory

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Bot *with* gud ways me*n* sall fande
To fille þe seuene dedis of m*er*cy
To visit*e* p*er*sons in harde bande
Seke blynde & lame & þus meene I

þe breste þ*er*e þe hart is in
Has s*er*uys of þe handes two
ffor all þ*a*t eu*er*e þe saule may synne
W*ith* gud ways þat fete may go
W*ith* alm*us* dede of handes twynne
W*ith* strength he put þe fende hym fro
And to distroy þe deueles gynne
W*ith* handes he may blisse hym also

þe heued has in his degre
Of þe mouthe a gret s*er*uyse
To speke resou*n* als thynkis me
Hym selue & othir*e* to chastys
And be his mouthe he may p*ar* dye
Pray to god in dulse gise
To sent hym gr*a*ce & gud pousty
To wythstande alle fanteysyses [*sic*]

W*ith* fete synn*e* he sall doune trede
Be gou*er*nynge of þe holy gost
W*ith* handes to put away all quede
Thurgh þe fadres myght of myghtes most
Witte of þe sonn*e* sall rewle þin heued
To make hym shewe w*ith* outyn bost
And speke gods wordes i*n* siche a stede
To felle þe fende & all his oste

Now is þe bodyly t*em*ple made
To ressayue god in þe manhede
An-outhir*e* t*em*ple most be hade
To ressayue hym in his godhede
Pike ne axe ne shouyl ne spade
To make þis t*em*ple non sall nede
Carte ne wayne sall non be made
Any tymbre þ*er*e-to to lede

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Þe grou*n*de sall be so haue I sele
Of þis te*m*ple þat is gostly
A stronge knawynge I warne þe wele
Þe fay̆the to kenne full parfitely
Þe walles most be þat man sall fele
Hope þat is a strength myghty
Þe rofe it is so haue I cele
Cha̲ryte þ*a*t fleys envye

Þe grou*n*dynge of þis gostly caue
Es fayth allon als I sall prufe [*sic*]
Þe .xij. stones þat sall it paue
Þe .xij. articles þ*a*t man sall leue
Þat his synfull saule sall saue
ffro payne & penau*n*ce & myschefe
And heuene blisse þat man sall haue
Þ*a*t in þe fayth sadly will cleue

Þe stones þ*a*t sall paue þis grou*n*de
Opynly I will declare
Þes .xii. stones sall be fou*n*de
Þe .xij. articles of fayth þai are
Þat ilka cristyn ma*n* is bou*n*de
Sadly to leue & noȝt to spare
And ellis I halde hym bot a hou*n*de
Þat of blisse sall be full bare

Þe first article þen is þis
Þat on god is in p*ar*sons thre
Þe fadir*e* & þe son*ne* of blisse
Þe holy gost þe thyrde degre
And at þes thre bot on god is
Þat neu*er*e may disseuerde be
Þe whilke hade neu*er*e begyn*n*ynge i-wisse
And alle thynges of noȝt made he

Þe sceou*n*de [*sic*] poynt þat goddisson*e* dere
Tok flesche & bloude of mary mylde
And borne was of a v*er*gyn clere
Þat neu*er*e w*ith* weme of syn*ne* was fylde

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And þat he borne was all in fere
God & man & verray childe
Þus most hym leue with outyn were
Or dredles ellys he is begyled

Þe .3. is þat þat frely foude
Gods sone borne of mary
Was crucifide & done on rode
Dede & grauen sykirly
Bot noȝt be þe strenght of þe juwes wode
Ne be þaire myght ne þaire maystry
Bot be fre wille he schad his bloude
Mankynde fro bondage for to bye

Þe .4. þat god & man full ryght
Rose up in his flesh gloryfide
ffro þe dede with strength & myght
And moo paynes sall neuere abyde
Þe rysynge of þis lorde of lyght
Be-menes þat we on on days tyde
Sall ryse ilkone in gods syght
May non of us þat day hym hyde

Þe .5. is þat bothe god & man
Jhesu crist þat lorde verray
After þat he was rysyn þan
In his manhede to heuene stey
Þus to stey up he began
ffor we suld stey up þe same way
If it be so we will & kane
Serue hym here in erthe to pay

Þe .6. þat baptym þat we take
Makis us clene of Adam syne
And giffys us grace fro syne & wrake
To be saued & heuene to wynne
Þe .7. is þat þe Bisschopp may make
And conferme oure saules with in
Þe holy gost for baptim sake
Thurgh wham alle gud dedes we begynne

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Þe .8. is þat penance here
ffor dos alle synne bothe gret & smalle
And with penance he makes hym clere
Of synnes dedly & venyall
Þe .9. is þat goddis body dere
Þat prestes makyn in þe autere alle
Hym þat repentes his synnys sere
It kepis hym from þe fendes falle

Þe .10. poynt is of full gret prisse
Þat ordire þat prelats & prestes hent
Giffes þaime powere be þaire office
To make ilke sondre sacrament
Þe .11. is to myn a-vice
Þat weddynge with lawfull entent
ffor-dos clene all synne & vice
Of man & wife in wedloke lent

Þe .12. article pen is þis
Þe last enoyntynge or þu die
Sall rayse þi saule up in to blisse
ffro paynes bodely & gastely
Þes are þe .12. poyntes i-wisse
Þat man sall leue in stedfastly
And þes .12. poyntes þe pauement is
Of þe gostly temple sikirly

Þe first of þes articles sere
It longes to þe trinyte
Þe nexte foure þat folowen here
To crist most referred be
Þe whilke is god & man y-fere
Kynge & preste bothe in degre
And in what wise I sall ȝowe lere
Als I in diuerse bokis see

A kynge he is with outen drede
In þat þat [sic] he is god verray
And prest he is so god me spede
In þat he man is sothe to say

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And man he is if we take hede
In þat he borne was of a may
Þus is he god and man in dede
Kynge & p*re*ste þat lastes ay

And to declare more opynly þis
A p*re*st he is in dede suffrynge
Þe seconde poynt so haue I blisse
A kynge he is fro dede rysynge
Þe thyrde þat he v*er*ray god is
ffor his m*er*uelo*us* upsteynge
And ilka c*r*istyn man i-wisse
May take þes greys in ilka thynge

A man sall be borne a-gayne
And be a newe man in þis wise
Borne be baptim in s*er*tayne
And be gud werkis þat may suffice
A p*re*ste he is þe sothe to sayne
If he his flesch can wele chastice
And w*ith* penau*n*ce his flesch restrayne
ffro alle syn*n*ys & alle folice

A kynge he sall be called ryght
If þat he rys*e* *in* v*er*tuis fyne
Þat w*ith* his v*er*tu & his myght
He destroy þe fendis engyne
Be conte*m*placion day & nyght
And lastynge in v*er*tu dyuyne
To þe blisse of heuene so bryght
He may stey up streght als a lyne

Nowe is þe grondynge up wroght
Of þis gostly te*m*ple here
Nowe most tymbr*e* be up-sogh*t*
To make þe walles fyne & clere
Þis tymbr*e* is in man*n*ys thoght
To haue gud hope w*ith* outyn were
Þat he sall in to blisse be broght
With goddis s*er*uyce & v*er*tu*us* sere

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Þis hope most I ȝit declare
Þis is hope þe sothe to say
In tyme to-come hope wele to fare
And ille to-come to dryfe away
And if þat he his wittes ware
In gude use to goddis pay
Þan sall he hope to haue thank þare
Whare god sall deme all on a day

Þis hope most stand euenly betwene
Dispayre & foule *presumsyon*
And dryfe þai*me* bothe a-way full clene
ffor þai are mans conffusion
ffor wi*th* þes two poyntes I wene
Þe fende to te*mpe* me*n* is ay boune
Dispayre on Judas it was sene
Þat hanged hym selue for his tresou*n*

To speke clerely dispayre is þis
To drede þe dome þat god sall dresse
So mykill þ*at* his wenynge is
Þat if god do ryghtwisnes
He may noȝt forgiffe his mysse
And wenys þat for his wrechednesse
He may neur*ere* make gud i'wisse
W*ith* no penau*n*ce ne no distresse

Presu*m*psion is set in þis wise
Þat if a man syn*ne* wilfully
In god so mykill he affice
To syn*ne* for trest of his m*er*cy
Or ellis he thynkis in þis gyse
Gyffe all I syn*ne* a while dedly
Her*e* aft*er* may I me a-vise
And make a-me*n*dis or þ*at* I dye

Bot p*ar*fite hope þen has dredlesse
ffoure walles longand þer*e*-to
Two walles ar*e* toward god I gesse
And toward man ar*e* o þ*er*e two

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Gods p*ar*tyse are more ne lesse
Bot m*er*cy & ryghtwysnes also
Mans p*ar*tys I take witnes
Es penau*n*ce & gud dedis to do

A man sall hope w*ith* penau*n*ce sere
To gete m*er*cy in goddis syght
And also hope w*ith* gude dedis here
To gete hym mede be dome & ryght
And drede gods dome ryghtwise & clere
Þat ponysches ilka waryed wyght
And trest on gods m*er*cy so dere
Þat to gud me*n* holly is hyght

Ilk man sall haue in his entent
A hardy hope als I sall sayne
Þat if he of his syn*n*e repent
Þat penau*n*ce sall saue hym fro payne
A sikir*e* hope a man sall hent
Þat for his gud dedis in s*er*tayne
At Þe day of gret jugement
To mede he sall be ryght uptane

Þis same hope as I haue tolde
Ar*e* Þe walles gud & try
Þe gostly te*m*ple up to holde
And Þai are wroght full curyously
Þe rofe is noȝt ellis be Þ*u* bolde
Bot a strength Þat is tresty
Þat is hilled fro stormes colde
W*ith* charyte Þat fleys envye

Þus charyte man sall it take
And undirstand in p*ar*tys thre
Lefe is Þe fyrst Þat may noȝt slake
Charite next loue Þe thyrde degre
As touchynge leefe nowe will I make
A gret resou*n* als thynkis me
Þat leefe ne may noȝt be forsake
Bot nede most be w*ith* charyte

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ffyrst if a man in his entent
Will loue any thynge gret or smalle
Gif all þe worlde were in *pr*esent
þat thynge he will chese p*r*incypale
Whan it is chosyne by his asse*n*t
Till hym it is lefest of alle
þen p*r*efe I be þis argume*n*t
þat leefe to charyte most be-falle

Charyte is w*i*th outyn were
þat thynge þ*a*t man has chosyn so
Hym thynk it is so leue & dere
He walde for no thynge it forgo
þen is loue in þis manere
þe hart desyre þat may no3t hoo
Thynge þat he ches & he y fere
To be in one þat ere were two

þus ilka ma*n* both gret & smale
Suld loue god in p*ar*sons thre
To loue þe fadi*r*e fyrst of alle
W*i*th p*r*ayere & wyrschippe of hert so fre
Sithen to þe sone þis loue most falle
To loue hym of fyne charyte
þe holy gost þen chese he sall
And loue alle thre w*i*th hert so fre

And ilka man w*i*th outyn layne
Sall loue hym selue in thre p*ar*tyse
ffadi*r*e & modi*r*e w*i*th mode & mayne
ffryst wyrschippe þai*m*e on any wyse
þe sceconde [*sic*] þat he hym restrayne
ffro alle te*m*pynge of coueytise
þe thyrde þat he do no3t agayne
Lawe ne kynde thurgh no folyce

Hys neghtbor sall he loue y-wysse
Als wele als hym selue full truly
To coueyt nothynge þat is his
Ne reue hym þat he is sustende by

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Ne for no hate ne wrath þat is
Slee noȝt his neghtbor folely
Ne ȝit his wyfe thynke wele on þis
He sall noȝt drawe to lichery

Þus is loue als I haue tolde
P*ar*tyde in thre man*er*s sere
To god þat fourmes man of molde
Þe sceconde [*sic*] to þi selue here
Þe thyrde þat ilka man is holde
Till his neghtbor as brothyr*e* dere
And he þat dos þus may be bolde
Þat heuene is his w*ith* outyn were

Þis loue encloses ilka dele
Þe ten com*m*andme*n*t*s* I am sure
And þis loue is þat I gan fele
Þe gostly temple cou*er*ture
Þis gostly house is wroght full wele
And tymbyrd up w*ith* busy cure
Þe grou*n*de þe walles are stronge as stele
Þe rofe it is both fyne & pure

To speke shortly þe groude [*sic*]is þis
Þe fayth þat I haue tolde before
Þe walles is hope to com to blisse
Þat in heuene lastes eu*er*e more
Þe rofe is charite i-wysse
Þat ilka man sulde kepe in store
Þis gostly te*m*ple nowe is þis
I rede ilke man thynk on þis lore

Bot .7. vices I haue asspide
Þat fyghten a-gaynes charyte
In thre p*ar*tys þare deuyde
Two ben a-gaynes gods pauste
Þi neghtbor dwelland þe besyde
A-gaynes hym ar*e* also thre
A-gaynes þi selue ay tyme & tyde
Ben othir*e* two þis warne I þe

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Þe deuele tempes with pride & slewthe
Þe worlde þe tempes with envye
Also to wrath & þat is ruthe
And to coueytise also gretly
Þi flesch þe tempis als I trowe
To glotony & lichery
If any man þis lessoun knawe
Þe tyme I rede he ware þere-by

Slowthe & pride ben als I gesse
Synnes a-gaynes god opynly
ffor ilka man with besynes
Suld serue his god most bysyly
And ilka man suld with meknesse
Wyrschipp god most soueranly
Þat god myght for his gret lowenesse
In heuene make his sete full hye

A-gaynes þin neghtbor sothe to sayne
Es envye wrath & coueytise
Envye is to haue dedeyne
If he in thyrft wax or up ryse
Wrath is to kylle in sertayne
Or ellis with hatred hym despyce
Coueytise is if þu be fayne
To haue his gud in wrangwyse wyse

Agaynes þi selue is glotony
And lichery þat stynkand is
To ete & drynke to outragely
More þen þe body may suffyce
Þat othire synne is lichery
Wifes wydowes & maydes of price
for to desyre to ligge þaime by
And to þat synne so þaime entyse

And ilkon of þes synnes sere
Has a planet to help hym ay
ffirst unto slewthe with outyn were
Saturnus serues hym to pay

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And unto pride þat we use here
Þe sonne is helpand sothe to say
And with envye þi hert to stere
Þe mone is helpand nyght & day

Wrathe þat wyrkes ofte tyme wo
Mars helpis hym to venge his hate
And unto coueytise also
Marcury helpes hym algate
And glotony þat can noȝt ho
Jubiter helpes erly & late
And lichery oure gostly foo
Venus haldes up his estate

Ilkone of þes synnes I calle
A seknes & a wounde dedly
Unto slewthe sall best befalle
To calle it ded flesch & palsy
And pride þat is heȝ ouere alle
I calle it bolneynge & dropsy
Envy þat is so full of galle
Es venyme & feueres sikirly

Wrath may I likkyn wele by skille
To wodnesse & to caue kepynge
Coueytysse þat gredy gille
I calle it crampe & gret warkynge
Glotony þat noȝt may fille
Es meselry & bloude aboundynge
Lichery I likkyn wille
Un to þe flix & flesch stynkynge

ffor whi what man in erth þat isse
If he will bigge gods temple dere
Gostly or bodyly most do þis
And with þat on hand wyrke all here
þat othir hande so haue I blisse
Most halde a scharpe swerde bryght & clere
To fende hym fro þes synnes i-wisse
And alle þaire helpers alle y-fere

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Kynge dauyd a te*m*ple be-ganne
Sithen salamon broght it till ende
ffolke of caldy come af*ter* þam
And gart þis te*m*ple al to schende
Zorobabell þat noble man
And Jhe*s*u sarac son*e* þe hende
A-gayne þis te*m*ple ilka spanne
Þai made it up & þen gan wende

Sithen come kynge Antioch*us*
And cast þis temple dou*n*e a-gayne
And Judas Machabeus
And his brothir*e* in c*er*tayne
Toward þis te*m*ple þai*m*e gan trus
And made it up all newe a-gayne
Þis te*m*ple sall be remeued þus
Now listenes wele what I sall sayne

3he sall take & undrestande
Þe folke of Caldy in þis gyse
No3t bot þe fende þat fyrst gan fande
To tempe Ad*a*m in paradise
And made hym for to breke gods bande
Thurgh his cursed coueytise
Gods te*m*ple þus I undrestande
Þe deuell destrued in siche a gyse

Zorobabel þ*a*t sithen he myght
Made up þis te*m*ple þat was torne
3he sall undrestand full ryght
Þat p*r*ophecyes has sayde be forne
How gods son*e* in a mayden bryght
Toke flesch & bloude was of hir*e* borne
To distroye þe fendes sleght
And saue Ad*a*m þat was forlorne

Kynge Anthiocus betokenes þis
Þat þe fende sen god borne was
Has bene abowte he & alle his
To shende mans saule in ilka place

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Judas Machabeus y-wisse
Sall be remeued in þis cace
To shrifte & repentaunce of mysse
Þat makis a man able to grace

Be þis temple noȝt ellis y mene
Bot þat gostly & bodyly
To kepe oure saules & bodyes clene
Þat sall resayue god all myghty
And if þe deuel with tray & tene
Assayle oure saules for envye
With shrifte & sacramentz be-dene
We sall destroy þe fendis maistry

ffor-þi I say what lyfand lede
Þat will gods temple make & lyght
With his on hand hym most take hede
To wyrke & traueyle with his myght
And in his oþer hand most hym nede
Holde a swerde both sharpe & bryght
To fende with all his dayes dede
ffro alle synnes day & nyght

With þe swerde of strenght þe fende of helle
Þu sall bere doune & his combraunce
Þi frele flesch þu sall doune felle
With þe swerde of temperaunce
With þe swerde of ryght þu sall quelle
Þis worldes welth & his bogance [*sic*]
With þe swerde of pacyens I þe telle
Þu sall bere doune þe worldes greuans

Oure gostly life als thynkes me
In .7. vertus standis als I gesse
In fayth hope & in charyte
In strength & in ryghtwisnes
Wisdome temperance þe .7. degre
Þes are þe vertuis more ne lesse
3it ilkon of þes vertuys fre
Has a-gaynes hym a seknes

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A-gaynes þe fayth is mystrowynge
Agaynes hope despayre I fynde
Agaynes charyte envye greggynge
Agaynes strength wayknes als wynde
Agaynes witte foly wyrkynge
Agaynes ryght is wrange in mynde
Agaynes temperance in all thynge
Es lauþe dedys agaynes kynde

Bot for to fle þes seknes sere
And þes vertus to purchasse
In þe pater noster here
Ben .7. askynges in seuene cace
þe askynges bene deuoute & dere
And makyn a man to com to grace
Whilke þai bene now listen & lere
3he sall þaime here in lytill space

þe first prayere is for to sayne
Lorde þi name blessed mot be
þe seconde it is in certayne
þi kyngdome sall come with game & gle
þe .3. is wharto suld I layne
þi wille be wroght in all degre
þe .4. is gif us lorde of mayne
Oure gostly foude par charyte

þe .5. is lorde in wille & dede
ffor-giffe us þat we haue myswroght
þe .6. is lorde noȝt us þu lede
In fondyngs ne in fantoms of noȝt
Bot for to lyuere us lorde take hede
ffro alle illes in dede & thoght
þes are þe .7. askyngs of mede
In þe pater nostre þat are soght

Who so will haue þes askynges be skille
Seuene thynges most hym do be-dene
Hym most be pesable in wille
And in his hert both fayre & clene

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Hym most be mercyfull þere tille
Hongry to gods borde als I wene
Hym most haue sorowe priue & stille
ffor þe synnes he has in bene

Hym most be demure & mylde also
His saule most be both pore & meke
And on þis wise if þat he doo
Þen may he boldly god beseke
And his askynges sall wele com to
And god þere-to sall graunt hym eke
Seuene giftes to kepe his saule fro wo
To hele hym with when he is seke

Þe gospell says a man of pece
Gods sone sall be called here
Also a clene hert is no lese
Sall se gods sone in heuene so clere
Þe mercyfull þat wrath will cese
Gods mercy sall he go full nere
Þe hongry after gods mece
Sall haue brede of lyue full clere

Who þat for synnes can sorowe most
In heuene sall he be most gladde
He þat is meke with outyn bost
A lorde of lande he sall be made
And he þat is pore in his gost
Þere sall no deuell hym degrade
Þe kynge of heuene sall be his ost
And in þat kyngdome sett hym sade

ffro þe holy gost þe sall be sent
Seuene giftes for þin askynge
ffirst undrestandynge & entent
Sithen consayle strength & clere conynge
Pyty in hert als sall he hent
And drede of god most ouere all thynge
Þes .7. giftes þe sall be lent
To gouerne þe in þi lifynge

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And who so wyrkis on þis wise
And to his saule can haue an eghe
Hym nedis noȝt to sore a-grise
Ne drede no dome when he sall dye
þis worlde who will hym wele a-vise
It is bot fantome & fayreghe
Who þat þe worlde can most despice
In heuene his sete sall be most heȝ

þis worldly witt with god is holde
Bot blynde foly & writchednesse
þe worldes pouert sall be tolde
In heuene plente & rychesse
And meknes here of ȝonge & Olde
In heuene is wyrchippe & heghnesse
Honger & thirst deseyse & colde
In heuene is wele-fare & largenesse

Lerde & lewe seclere & clerke
I rede ȝhe sett ȝoure hertes entere
And in ȝoure mynde þes wordes ȝe marke
þat ȝhe may be gods chyldre dere
ffor by þis lore in worde & warke
To make gods temple may ȝhe lere
To somme men is þis mater merke
And to summe it is full clere

ffor-þi I consayle þu þat can
Rede it ofte if þat þu may
And somme fauoure sall þu þan
ffynde þere in þat dare I lay
And god þat formed me to man
And all sall deme upon a day
Als he of noȝt all thynge began
Gif us þe blisse þat lastes ay

Explicit templum Domini

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VITA

I, Roberta Douglas Cornelius, daughter of Drury Robert and Ellen Morrow Cornelius, was born in Logan County, Kentucky, January 2, 1890. I attended preparatory school in Russellville, Kentucky. In 1905 I entered Randolph-Macon Woman's College, and I was graduated from there in 1909 with the A.B. degree. In 1916, after three and a half quarters' graduate study in the University of Chicago, I received from that institution the degree of Master of Arts. After some additional graduate study in the University of Chicago, I transferred to Bryn Mawr College, where I had the honor of holding the Resident Fellowship in English in 1926-1927. The Helene and Cecil Rubel Fellowship was given to me in the spring of 1927. The year 1927-1928 I spent for the most part in England, where I was engaged in research upon the subject of my dissertation and upon William Nevill's poem, *The Castell of Pleasure.* In both these studies Professor Carleton Brown has directed my work.

My academic appointments have been as follows: 1910-1911, teacher of English, Florence, Alabama; 1911-1913, instructor in English, Randolph-Macon Woman's College; 1914-1915, teacher of English and Latin, St. Katharine's School, Bolivar, Tennessee; 1916-1919, instructor in English, 1919-1925, adjunct professor of English, and from 1926, associate professor of English in Randolph-Macon Woman's College.

My publications are the following: "The Clearness of Henry James," *The Sewanee Review,* 1919; "Two Early Reviews of Keats's First Volume," *PMLA,* March, 1925; an edition of William Nevill's *Castell of Pleasure, E.E.T.S.,* 179 (1930); and the three following notes: "Palus Inamabilis," *Speculum,* July, 1927; "Coronës Two," *PMLA,* December, 1927; "Mosbie's Stary Gaile," *The Philological Quarterly,* January, 1930.

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